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THE PROSE WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

EDITED BY

TEMPLE SCOTT

VOL. I. A TALE OF A TUB AND OTHER EARLY WORKS. Edited by TEMPLE SCOTT. With a biographical introduction by W. E. H. LECKY. With Portrait and Facsimiles.

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*** This volume contains Essays on the Portraits of Swift and Stella, by SIR FREDERICK FALKINER, and on the Relations between Swift and Stella, by the VERY REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D., D.C.L., Dean of St. Patrick's; a Bibliography of Swift's Works by W. SPENCER JACKSON; and a General Index to the Twelve Volumes. With two Portraits and View of Woodpark.

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VOL. XII

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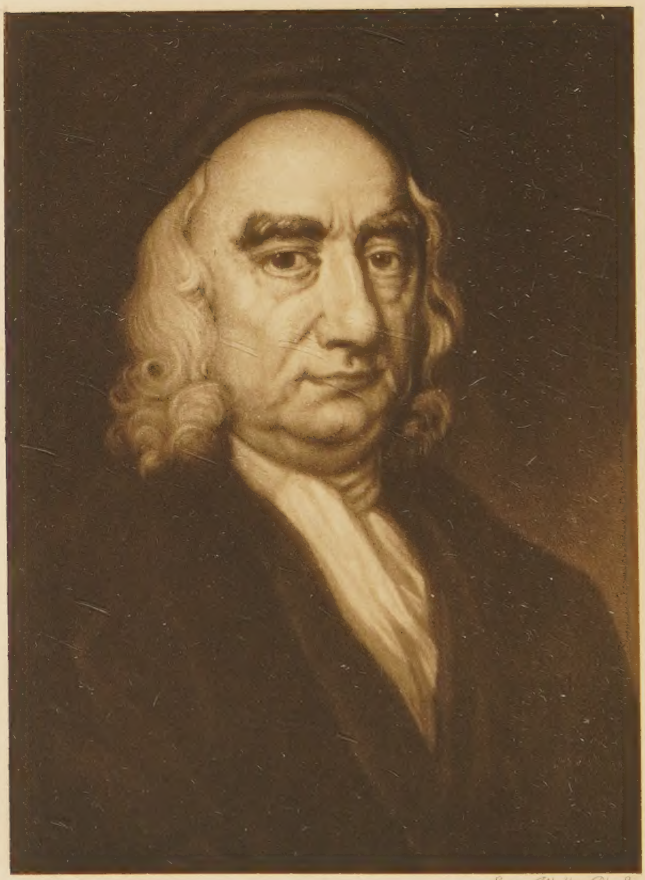

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

Jonathan Swift

From the portrait attributed to Slaughter
in the possession of the Countess of Drogheda.

THE PROSE WORKS
OF
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VOL. XII

ESSAYS ON THE PORTRAITS OF SWIFT
BY SIR FREDERICK FALKINER AND
ON SWIFT AND STELLA BY THE
VERY REV. THE DEAN OF
ST. PATRICK'S

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SWIFT'S WORKS
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THE present volume completes this edition of Swift's Prose Works, and the publishers hope that the value of the contents may compensate in some measure for the delay in its appearance.

It is with great regret that they have to record the death of Sir Frederick Falkiner, which occurred while the volume was passing through the press. His Essay on the Portraits of Swift and Stella was the result of researches extending over many years, and the information he had gathered enabled him to solve many of the difficulties connected with this complicated subject. Sir Frederick's death has been swiftly and tragically followed by that of his son, Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, to whose interest and assistance these volumes also owe much. He was engaged at the time of his death on an edition of Swift's Correspondence which was planned to form a companion to the Prose Works.[1] The loss of both father and son will be deeply felt in the world of scholarship and letters.

The Essay by Dr. Bernard, Dean of St. Patrick's, on the Relations between Swift and Stella embodies much new information, and though it is, perhaps, too much to say that it finally settles this much-disputed question, it will probably convince most readers that the marriage between Swift and Stella did actually take place.

The most important section of the volume is that containing the Bibliography. Mr. Temple Scott had always con-

[1] It is hoped that this work will now be carried out by Mr. Falkiner's friend and executor, Mr. F. Elrington Ball.

templated compiling this himself, but circumstances prevented him from carrying out his intention, and the work has been undertaken by Mr. W. Spencer Jackson. The laborious nature of the task may be judged from the fact that this is the first time that a Bibliography has been published recording, with any claims to completeness, all Swift's writings, both in prose and verse. Further information as to the scope and method of his work is given by Mr. Jackson in his prefatory note on page 109.

The Index to the twelve volumes has been compiled by Miss Constance Jacob, whose researches have enabled her to clear up many doubtful points of identity and similar difficulties.

Of the two portraits of Swift given in this volume, one, the frontispiece, is reproduced by permission of the Countess of Drogheda from the painting at Moore Abbey attributed to Slaughter (see pp. 35-36), while the other is from the water colour by Sir T. A. Jones, referred to in the footnote on page 53.

LONDON,
September, 1908.

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ERRATUM

Page 91, line 6 from foot, *for* "younger" *read* "elder."

THE PORTRAITS OF SWIFT

BY

THE RT. HON. SIR FREDERICK R. FALKINER, K.C.

OF THE PORTRAITS, BUSTS AND ENGRAVINGS OF SWIFT AND THEIR ARTISTS

THERE is no evidence in all the sea of Swiftian epistles, spreading over his lifetime, nor in all the waves of his successive biographies, that the Dean's portrait in oils was ever taken originally and from the life, save by Charles Jervas and by Francis Bindon, unless indeed we include those by his friend Pope, hereinafter mentioned. Further, there is no evidence of any portrait by Jervas save in Swift's palmy days of Queen Anne, or within a few years after, whilst those days were still fresh in London memories; nor of any portrait by Bindon previous to his darker days of George II.'s time. Very many copies of these originals were made both in his life and afterwards, several of which now existing may have been, and some of which indubitably were, replicas or duplicates by these artists themselves. It is these far scattered copies which now baffle the inquiry after the truly authenticated originals in too many instances. There are "Swifts" on the walls of our most noted galleries, both public and private, of which there is no record of whence they first came, nor even a tradition of their pedigree. A single apathetic life-tenant often permits the links of a century to be lost in the title of an heirloom. It is not such carelessness merely which perplexes the searcher after the true Swifts. Even the consummate artists of the eighteenth century received £75 for a portrait which now sells for £7,500; so in the earlier

years of that age the temptation to the artist would seem often to have been irresistible to eke out his income by a few repetitions on the sly, so sure of a market when the great Dean was his sitter. That this practice was suspected even by the patrons who gave commissions for the portraits, is evident in the case of the absolutely authentic Bindon, again referred to, now in Howth Castle. Writing in July, 1735, the then Lord Howth thanks "my good dean of St. Patricks for the honour he did me in sitting for his picture," and adds: "I have wrote to Dr. Grattan to give Mr. Bindon strict charge in the finishing of it, *and when that is done to bring it to his house for fear I should get a Copy instead of the Original.*" Dr. Grattan is to take it out of the artist's house and hands. The copies by unknown brushes have enhanced the perplexity, so that one honest inquirer, at least, after a two years' hunt, has been forced to forgo the hope of truly identifying half the "genuine" Swifts in the homes and the collections of Ireland and England, or of tracing several of which there was once the clearest contemporary proof. He, however, now writes the result of his search in the hope that its publication may lead to the discovery of some at least of the missing links of evidence.

It was not mere curiosity that set him upon this search. It was thus: when early in the last century Sir Walter Scott was foraging for his first great edition of Swift's works, he was advised by Lady Charlotte Rawdon, and afterwards by many others, to "go to Berwick," as the person then most deeply skilled in the subject of his researches. This was the Rev. Edward Berwick who, as was Lady Charlotte, was one of the Whig constellation of which Grattan, Lord Charlemont, Plunket, Lord Moira, and Curran, were chief stars. So to Ireland he came, and to Berwick, who, he says, treated him with the most flattering kindness. From him he obtained some of the most valuable of the then unpublished Swiftiana; for example, the Vanessa Correspondence and

the Legion Club. Mr. Berwick had then two portraits of Swift and one of Stella, of the last of which Sir Walter says, "The only portrait of Stella known to exist is in possession of my kind and respected friend the Rev. Mr. Berwick."[1] A letter from Grattan to Berwick, in 1805, congratulates him on his having been presented by Mr., afterwards Lord, Plunket, with Swift's picture.[2] These three portraits descended to Judge Berwick, his son, who was lost in the Abergele disaster, in 1868, and thence to his brother Edward Berwick, sometime the eminent President of Queen's College, Galway. His widow, Mrs. Harriette Berwick, who died in 1894, bequeathed the Stella portrait and one of the Swifts to two relatives and myself in trust for a health retreat for young girls, to be founded out of her fortune in memory of her only child. The Home now lies at the foot of the Dublin Hills. It was the trustees' duty of appraising the value of the bequest which induced an inquiry into their pedigree, leading to a quest after all authentic likenesses, painted, engraved, or sculptured.

The Bodleian Jervas.

Swift's earliest authentic portrait was almost certainly that by Jervas, now in the Bodleian at Oxford. It is the premier portrait in every sense, painted when he was in the zenith of his manhood and his fame, and in the very crisis of his fortunes; begun when he was the darling of the Whigs and finished just as he was about to be the darling of the Tories. In 1709, on his first mission from the Irish Church to obtain Queen Anne's First Fruits, when in the political confidence of Godolphin the prime minister, of Lord Somers, and of Wharton the lord lieutenant, the bosom friend of Addison and Steele, and friend of Congreve and Prior, familiar favourite of Lord Pembroke, the late lord lieutenant, of Lord

[1] "Memoirs of Swift," Swift's Works, vol. i., p. 239 *n.*

[2] "Grattan's Life," by his son, vol. v., p. 277.

Halifax and Lord Berkeley, spoiled child of court ladies and literary blue stockings, he first sat to Jervas, who was now court painter. The artist was not quite satisfied, and when Swift left London in March, 1709, the picture lay unfinished. In September, 1710, he came back to resume his mission, surly with the ministers both for his own and the Church's sake, for they had declined to advise the grant of the First Fruits save on the impossible condition of the bishops supporting a repeal of the Test Act, and the luscious promises of his own advancement were all unfulfilled by his statesmen friends. The cabinet was now breaking to pieces. Sunderland and Godolphin were already dismissed, and when, calling on the latter, he was received "with a great deal of coldness," the cup of his fury was full. Courted by the incoming Tories, he was introduced to Harley, about to be prime minister within a few weeks, and he broke with the Whigs for ever. In his first letter from London to Stella, on 9th September, he says: "On Monday Jervas is to retouch my picture," and on the 11th that he had sat four hours that morning to Jervas, "who has given my picture quite another turn and now approves it entirely." Latent traits had probably revealed themselves to the artist in those four hours, for indeed the painter poring on the face seems to have found the "man" behind it, and at least suggests the many-sided mind: the overflowings from the wells of audacious humour are seen in the flashing blue eyes, in the double deep-dimpled chin, and the curl at the corners of the strong, full, slightly pouting lips; the high, retreating forehead indicates the wealth of fancy and memory within, whilst the set of the head and boldness of the regard disclose the haughty conscious self-belief. And then there is assuredly an undertone of sadness, of the shadow that haunted his brilliancy always, the dark quality which proved that the most sparkling fountains sprang from gloomy caverns below. This was the look which Pope, when remarking to Spence that it was very like, seems to

have seen in it;[1] for at the same time he spoke of the "dullness" which he saw sometimes overshadow his friend's countenance, though the "look of uncommon archness in eyes quite azure as the heavens" was familiar and dear to him. Scanning the face, one thinks of what he was thinking of as he sat to the painter in those autumn days, and recalls that he was that week beginning his immortal Journal to Stella, replete with endearing diminutives and pungent personalities on all people he met of all degrees, that he was at the same time meditating his happy lines on the City Shower, and his lampoon of revenge on Godolphin, "Sid Hamet," the fallen minister breaking his staff of office when the Queen dismissed him, and we think we can trace the laughing raillery that animates all these, and even the vindictive spirit which breathes in the last: there is there also a trait of the insolent playfulness so innate in him, which a year before animated his "Decree" that all ladies who aspired to his acquaintance must make the first advances, and the greater the quality the greater the advances, which he enforced in fact even on duchesses.

This portrait is the type of the *English* Swift. I have assumed the identity of the Bodleian portrait with Jervas's original of 1710, though there is some weakness in actual proof. We know that in 1716 Vertue finely engraved the original under the careful supervision of Jervas himself, who thought the work could be improved, for he writes to Pope in 1715: "I intend this day to call at Vertue's to see Swift's brought a little more like."[2] This engraving is well reproduced in the frontispiece of Forster's Life—the angle of the face, the port and set of the head, the position of the forehead between the curls of the wig, and of the double chin over the linen bands, are identical in the Bodleian portrait and in this engraving. In the latter the lips are given a stronger

[1] Forster, p. 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

mien, but the change is just such as would be made in "bringing the likeness a little more like."

The Bodleian portrait was presented to the University of Oxford by Alderman Barber in the Spring, 1739, under very high auspices, after concerting with the Vice-Chancellor and the two who with Swift were the consummate geniuses of the age, Lord Bolingbroke and Alexander Pope. Richardson, the agent of the London plantation in Derry, of which Barber was then the presiding Governor, writes to Swift an account of the ceremony on April 10th: "Your friend Mr. Alderman Barber, whose veneration for you prompts him to do anything he can think of that can show his respect and affection, made a present to the University of Oxford of *the original picture done for you by Jervas*, to do honour to the University by your being placed in the Gallery among the most renowned and distinguished personages this island has produced: *but first had a copy taken*, and then had the original set in a fine rich frame, and sent it to Oxford after concerting with Lord Bolingbroke, the Vice-chancellor and Mr. Pope, as I remember, the inscription to be under the picture a copy whereof is enclosed. The alderman had a very handsome compliment from the Vice-chancellor in the name of all the heads of houses there, and by their direction: wherein there is most honourable mention of the Dean of St. Patrick's."

This letter mentions an article in the "London Evening Post" of the same date, a copy of which has been kindly given me from the British Museum, which after referring to the portrait by Bindon, which had just then been presented by the Chapter of St. Patrick's for the Deanery House, describes the presentation at Oxford, and adds, "It is somewhat remarkable that different kingdoms at the same juncture should conspire together in showing their zeal and publick spirit to perpetuate the memory of that great Patriot without knowing each other's intentions." The inscription is:

JONATHAN SWIFT,
Decan. S. Patric. Dubl.
Effigiem viri Musis amicissimi,
Ingenio prorsus sibi proprio celeberrimi,
Ut ipsum suis Oxoniensibus aliquatenus
Redoneret
Parietem habere voluit Bodleianum,
A.D. MDCCXXXIX,
Johannes Barber, Armiger
Aldermannus.
Nec ita pridem Prætor Londinensis.

The line "Of a genius entirely peculiar to himself" well expresses the essentiality of Swift's faculty, and might almost be translated by his own comment, "And what he writ was all his own," confirmed by the criticism of Cardinal Polignac, that Swift had *l'esprit créateur*.

Barber is himself noteworthy. In 1711, he and Ben. Tooke became Swift's printers, and through him in the four last years of Queen Anne, were poured forth on the world those avalanches of pamphlets, pasquinades, and poems, with which Swift maintained the Tory Ministry, doing for them in days when reporting was unknown what statesmen now do for themselves through Hansard, the morning press, the platform and the electric telegraph. Swift writes first of him to Stella in 1711 as "one Barber a printer," but their connection soon warmed to a lifelong friendship, for Barber had tact and talents which won for him and kept the good graces of all the Tory magnates, Harley and Bolingbroke, Pope, Arbuthnot, Prior and Gay, long after the Tory downfall. For him Swift indulged that passion for patronage which was almost a *cacoethes* with him, getting him from Harley the Gazetteership just taken from Steele, the printership to the Ordnance from Lord Rivers, who succeeded Marlborough, and the same office with the Great South Sea Company. When Anne was dying and Harley and Bolingbroke in open war, the latter

John Barber.

used Barber to lure back Swift to London as the only prop that could save the sinking party, calling him familiarly "Johannes Tonsor." Swift in those days dined with Barber alternately with the Prime Minister, and in a letter to Swift Barber signs himself "Tyrant," indicating what they both conceived even then to be the power of the Press. When the Scottish lords, headed by the Duke of Argyle, came to the Queen demanding revenge on the villainous libeller, who in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" called the Scots "a poor fierce northern people," whose union brought England only a pauper nobility, the pamphlet had run to the fifth edition, and all London save the Scotch were in a roar at such passages as, speaking of the Union, "I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants as she found in his house," and "I could point out some with great titles" whose "whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welsh Justice of the Peace, and have since gathered more money [in England] than ever any Scotchmen *who had not travelled* could form an idea of." Author and printer were now in a common peril. Barber, arrested, refused to betray his author on the ground that it might criminate himself. He was kept in prison and on the brink of ruin, but the Prime Minister by a ruse saved him, ordering a public prosecution which closed Barber's mouth, and then sending £150 to Swift to indemnify the printer and publisher. Time was gained till the wrath of the Scots had cooled, and even they had learned to laugh at the jokes of which they were the victims.

Barber lost the Government places when the new King came, but his nest was now feathered. He was one of the few who, in the burst of the South Sea Bubble, six years afterwards, became a millionaire, and though he lost again in

the speculations of the day, he kept £50,000, bought a fine estate at Richmond, rose in the City, was Lord Mayor in 1733 and afterwards Chief Governor of the Londonderry Company; and in these capacities renewed close correspondence with the Dean, repaying old kindness by several appointments of the Dean's *protégés*, including the *vaurien* Pilkington as Chaplain to the Lord Mayor. Swift, in their late correspondence, calls him his dear old friend of thirty years, and his letters breathe with an affection such as he showed to no one else save Pope.

The identity of the Bodleian portrait with the Jervas of 1710 would be more assured, if we knew for whom the latter was originally painted. It was not for Barber, whom Swift did not then know, and it was certainly not for Swift himself. On the 26th October, 1710, he tells Stella: "I will try some contrivance to get a copy of my picture from Jervas. I'll make Sir Andrew Fountaine buy one as for himself, and I'll pay him again and take it, that is provided I have money to spare when I leave this." This points to Sir A. Fountaine as Jervas's client, and thus entitled to order a replica which, openly at least, he would not paint for others. Fountaine was a man of good fortune, and accomplished; as a good Oxford Latinist he was knighted by William III., and afterwards travelling in Italy and collecting coins he met Lord Pembroke, who, when made Lord Lieutenant, took him to Dublin Castle as Usher of the Black Rod. There, with the earl himself, Swift and Sterne, the Dean's predecessor at St. Patrick's, Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, and his two brothers, Dilly and Tom, Fountaine formed the punning coterie, calling themselves Castilians. When Lord Pembroke retired in 1707, Swift and Fountaine crossed the channel with him, the Viceroy and Fountaine bound for Wilton, where many of Sir Andrew's coins and medals still are to be seen. He had a family seat, Narford in Norfolk, where Forster found with his lineal descendant,

Mr. Fountaine, some most valuable MSS. of Swift, including the Castilian records, and the original Baucis and Philemon, as written before Addison "corrected it by expurgating some of its wittiest couplets." He was in London in 1710 and the year following, and introduced Swift to Mrs. Vanhomrigh, with whom we find them both dining or supping fifteen times, rather basely recorded by Swift to Stella, as if Sir Andrew and Mrs. Van, as he calls her, were the attraction, when we can well guess he was planting the *lethalis arundo* in poor Vanessa's heart, whilst, as in her agony years afterwards she sang, she was

> Still listening to his tuneful tongue;
> The truths which angels might have sung,
> Divine imprest their gentle sway,
> And sweetly stole my soul away.

Sir Henry Craik, it may be added, expresses no doubt that the Bodleian portrait is the original of 1710.

Richardson's letter says, as we have seen, that Barber, before making the presentation to Oxford, took care to have a copy taken. By whom was it taken? Jervas indeed was then still alive, but an invalid, and very near the close. *Where is this copy now?*

Lord Oxford's Jervas.

(2) The Swift correspondence discloses a portrait by Jervas of special interest, if we could identify it now. The second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, son of Harley, Queen Anne's last premier, writing to Swift from Dover Street in August, 1725, after his father's death, says: "The picture I have of you is the same which Mr. Jervas drew of you in Ireland, and it is very like you and is a very good picture; and though Mr. Jervas is honoured with the place of his Majesty's painter he cannot paint a picture I shall so much value as I do that of the Dean of St. Patrick's." And in a previous letter he says:

"I have the pleasure of seeing a picture which is very like you every day, and is as good a picture as ever Jervas painted." This was, therefore, most probably painted during Jervas's long visit to Ireland, whither he went for a professional stay in 1716-17, whence Pope, seeking to lure him home, says: "Come then, and having peopled Ireland with a world of beautiful shadows, come to us, and see with that eye which, like the eye of the world, creates beauties by looking at them."[1] In this Irish visit he painted the Dean's dear friend Parnell, the poet, who was then Archdeacon of Clogher and rector of Finglas, just outside Dublin. This portrait was painted by Jervas for Pope who, on seeing it, complained that it was infinitely less lively than that he carried habitually about with him.[2] Lord Oxford's Jervas was presumably painted for Harley himself, towards whom in that year, 1716-17, in his downfall and sore peril, Swift was exhibiting a loving devotion and sympathy which does the highest honour to both, and which alone would vindicate Swift from the charges of self-seeking so often made by political foemen in his own and later days. Where, too, is this historic picture now? I have laboured ineffectually to trace it. This Lord Oxford's daughter became Duchess of Portland in 1734, on her marriage to the second duke, and the bulk of the Harley possessions thereon passed to the family of Cavendish Bentinck, and it might have been surmised that so prized a possession as this might be in the great collection of Welbeck, but inquiry has ascertained that this is not so. Can this be one of the extant traditional Jervases without clear pedigrees which we now enumerate, and if so, which of them?

(3) The portrait in the National Portrait Gallery in Trafalgar Square, of which a reproduction appears as fron-

[1] Letter 9 July, 1716. Pope's Works, vol. viii., p. 21.
[2] See Bohn's "Goldsmith," vol. iv., p. 164.

tispiece in the fifth volume of this edition of Swift's Prose Works, is strikingly excellent. It is unquestionably either by the same hands that painted the Bodleian Swift or copied from the same artist, for the port and contour of the head, and the relative positions of the wig to the forehead, and the bands to the double chin are identical in each; though in the Bodleian the regard is direct, slightly turned to the looker between shoulders which face him, whilst in this Swift is seated at his writing-table, from which he turns neck and head as if to some one who had come to him when at work, and this imparts an additional animation to his vivid countenance. What we know of this portrait is that it belonged to the last Marquess of Hastings, who died in 1868, and at the sale of his possessions in 1869 this "Swift" was purchased by Messrs. Graves, of Pall Mall, for the National Portrait Gallery, but without a pedigree. This Lord Hastings was grandson of the first Marquess, the eminent Governor-General of India, previously Francis Rawdon, Earl of Moira in the Irish peerage, who, with his countess, were leaders of Dublin society a hundred years ago. Moira House was then the Dublin counterpart of Holland House, the graceful centre of the wit, intellect, and celebrity of their day, which ranged on the Whig side. Alas! for the vicissitudes in the lives of noble homes. Moira House, that once sparkled with diamonds and beauty still more sparkling, is now the Mendicity House on the north quays of the Liffey. It is almost certain that its treasures once included a portrait of the Dean, for the independence of Ireland was one of its watchwords, and if we may hazard a conjecture, we may well suggest that the last Marquess inherited this from his Rawdon grandsire. Lady Charlotte Rawdon, who, as we have seen, sent Sir Walter Scott to Mr. Berwick, was sister of this first Marquess of Hastings. The surmise, if vain, may at least help towards a truer

Jervas' Swift in the National Portrait Gallery.

identification of one of the most interesting subjects in the great National Collection.

The Irish National Gallery Jervas.

(4) The portrait in the Irish National Gallery, a reproduction of which fronts the Drapier's letters in the sixth volume of this edition, and which, following the old Dublin Catalogue, is mentioned there as once in the possession of Judge Berwick, and ascribed to Francis Bindon, is manifestly by Jervas, and the entry is accordingly corrected in the new catalogue. A glancing comparison of the two types, the Jervases and the Bindons, demonstrates this. Every line stamps its parentage as identical with that of the Bodleian original, and all the known Bindons are, as we have said, twenty years later than the latest of the Jervases. The mistake originated in the notice of Bindon in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and is easily explained. Monck Mason, in 1819, states that the Rev. Edward Berwick then possessed a portrait by Bindon,[1] but in the same page he states that the same Mr. Berwick has a good head of Swift by Jervas. Both these descended to the late Judge Berwick, his son, from whose representatives the National Gallery obtained the Swift portrait now in Leinster Lawn; but this is as assuredly Berwick's Jervas as that in our possession, hereafter referred to, is Berwick's Bindon, and a good head of Swift this Jervas certainly is, and in our view one of the most characteristic of the Irish immortals which from the walls of this gallery salute one, as in a dream, with the smiles of two hundred years ago.

The Cobham Hall Jervas.

(5) There is an excellent Swift of the Jervas type in the collection of the Earl of Darnley, at Cobham Hall, to which I was led by the kindness of Mr. Lionel Cust, the courteous curator of the National Portrait Gallery. It is a quarter-length, and

[1] "History of St. Patrick's," p. 444.

has all the air of an original, but I could not ascertain its genesis, as it has been for generations in its present home. Lord Darnley, in the male or Irish line, was in the days of Swift and of Jervas the first Earl, his older title being Lord Clifton in the Irish peerage; his residence was in his county, Meath, not very far from Laracor, Swift's old rectory before he became Dean. His son, the third Earl, married Miss Stoyte, of the family of Alderman Stoyte, of whom Swift writes so affectionately in the Journal to Stella as belonging to the coterie or club of which Stella herself was a star, and which included Dean Sterne, Swift's predecessor in St. Patrick's, and Archdeacon Walls, who laughed and played ombre whilst Swift was in London. And so it is probable, indeed, that this Cobham portrait is an heirloom handed down to the present noble owner from his ancestor in Meath, who was pretty sure to have an original from the Queen Anne period.

The Knole Jervas.

(6) There is an admirable Swift by Jervas in Lord Sackville's interesting gallery at Knole, in Kent, to which I was directed by my right honourable friend Mr. Justice Madden, who first saw it at the Guelph Loan exhibition in 1891, and thought it one of the most striking and interesting portraits of that collection. There is strong ground for believing this to be authentic and original, for, at least till lately, it hung in the room known for a century and a half as Lady Betty Germaine's. She was one of Swift's oldest, most faithful, and latest friends. When her father, the Earl of Berkeley, came to govern Ireland as one of the Lords Justices, in 1699, Swift, then little more than thirty, came with him as chaplain to Dublin Castle, and soon became the life and soul of the family, the Countess, her incomparable daughters, as Swift calls them, and all the retinue of the household. They joked and punned incessantly: the young chaplain immortalized the servant's hall in Mrs. Frances Harris, the housemaid's," Loss of her purse," and Lady Betty, who

was full of fun, wrote competitive doggerels with his reverence:

> With these is Parson Swift,
> Not knowing how to spend his time,
> Does make a wretched shift
> To deafen them with puns and rhyme.

And when the Berkeleys left the Castle, in 1701, Swift went back with them and was their guest at Cranford, where he perpetrated his felicitous fraud on the Countess, passing off his Meditation on a Broomstick as one of the saintly Robert Boyle's Meditations. The intimacy with Lady Betty abided long after her father's and her mother's death, and up to that of the Dean himself. She became the wife of Sir John Germaine of Drayton, in Northamptonshire, from which many of her letters to Swift were written, and of which she became sole owner by her husband's will. She left Drayton to Lord George Sackville, of Minden memory, who was the third son of Lionel, Duke of Dorset, long Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and owner of Knole, in which Lady Betty's apartments, a bed-room and dressing-room, are still pointed out. As Drayton was famous for its portraits and old china when Horace Walpole was there in 1783, nothing unproved can be more reasonably sure than that its mistress possessed an authentic likeness of her friend the Dean, and that this would pass to Knole, either in her own time or that of Lord George, or when Lord George's son became last Duke of Dorset and owner of Knole.

Lord Chesterfield's Jervas.

(7) Jervas painted another fine portrait of the Dean which I have not as yet been able to trace, but which this notice may help to find. It was beautifully engraved by P. Fourdrinier about 1734, under Jervas's supervision. It would seem to be a copy of his original painting of 1711. In 1734 he writes from Hampton to Swift that Mrs. Pendarves has been made happy with

one of these engravings, adding: "I do not fail to distribute them to all your well-wishers."[1] In 1736 the Right Hon. Thomas Carter, who was Master of the Rolls in Ireland and Secretary of State, writes to Swift in relation to this engraving:[2] "I have no doubt the painter will have occasion for a great many cargoes from our friend Mr. Jervas." Carter was a gentleman of notable literary connection, for his wife was the widow of Wentworth Dillon, the poet Earl of Roscommon. A note in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, 1758, states "that this fine print of the Dean was engraved from an original picture painted by Jervas, which was afterwards purchased by the Earl of Chesterfield and placed in his elegant library in May Fair in his collection of English authors." Chesterfield is not now in the occupation of the Stanhopes, but if the old collection still exists Fourdrinier's engraving would suffice to identify Jervas's original. Between this and his first portrait twenty years would seem to have elapsed, for he is not known to have been in Ireland after 1721, and the Dean was not in England after 1727.

The Bessborough Jervas.

(8) In 1850 Messrs. Christie and Manson sold a portrait of Swift for the Earl of Bessborough, sent over from Ireland. It is specified in the catalogue as by Jervas, and was purchased by a Mr. Page, but he appears to have been a commission agent, and I have been as yet unable to trace this portrait further. It might certainly have been more probable that the Bessborough collection should have contained a Swift by Bindon, who was the architect of Bessborough house, where, as we shall see, there is a portrait of that artist himself, than one by Jervas, but this note may possibly lead to an identification.

[1] Nov. 24, 1734. [2] March 15, 1736.

CHARLES JERVAS

As an artist, Jervas's fate is that of the over-praised, on whom the world takes vengeance by undue disparagement. In the next generation Horace Walpole, in 1771, says his works are wretched daubings, light and flimsy;[1] yet we may challenge the authority of a critic who in the same breath dooms to the garrets of their grandchildren the family portraits painted by the artists of his own day, for these comprise Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney, whose works now sell for a hundredfold the guerdon of the artists. Even in his own heyday, indeed, his friend Dr. Arbuthnot denounced him thus: "You are, nevertheless, a practical believer, you strictly observe the second Commandment, for in your pictures you make not the likeness of anything in the heaven above or in the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth." This, however, was a sally provoked by some infidel talk in which Jervas was indulging. Again, when in full fashion, with a handsome house in Cleveland Court, St. James's, he set up a coach and horses, someone spoke of this to Sir Godfrey Kneller, who exclaimed, "Ach, mine Got, if his horses do not draw better than he does, he will never get to his journey's end." But the Dutchman was probably a little jealous, for Jervas was now competing successfully for the favour of the town. Contemporary favour is some set-off, and as against Walpole we may set the estimates of Steele and Pope and Lady Mary W. Montagu, who in her admiration of the beauties of the Harem at Constantinople said Jervas was the painter she wished to see them.[2] In the very year he first painted Swift, Steele in the fourth "Tatler" (18 April, 1709) describes two

[1] "Vertue's Anecdotes," by H. Walpole, vol. iv., p. 12.

[2] Pope's Works, vol. viii., pp. 19-20.

portraits Jervas, lately returned from Rome, was then painting. They were of Court beauties he calls "Chloe" and "Clarissa." Their "different perfections," he says, "are suitably represented by the last great painter Italy has sent us, Mr. Jervas;" Chloe as a country girl, showing the great mastery of the painter, in a straw hat and ribbons, Clarissa set by the skilful hand in a manner that looks artless and innocent of the torment she gives. And he certainly did get to his journey's end with very considerable success, for he succeeded Sir G. Kneller as Court Painter to George I. and as such was retained by George II., and he could set against his critics the public favour, from royalty down, by which the greatest celebrities and beauties of his day sat to him, many of them whilst Kneller was still painting, and who from a hundred walls still bear him witness for good or ill; and this success may have the more piqued Kneller's criticism, as Jervas had been his pupil. He painted Sir Isaac Newton for the Royal Society, and Dr. Arbuthnot for the College of Physicians. Addison sat to him in 1716, Pope three times at least, and George II. in 1728 for his portrait in the Guildhall. In Anne's time he was already a favourite with the Court beauties and fell in love with one of the loveliest, the Lady Elizabeth Spencer, Marlborough's third daughter, when now Countess of Bridgewater, not very long before her death in 1714, when she was only seven-and-twenty. But if a great poet could have created him a great artist, he would now be one of the greatest of English names. Pope saw him with a poet's vision, in which he was transfigured. As Spenser says of the poets:

> They do those men in golden thrones repose,
> Whose merits they to glorifie do chose.

When engaged with the "Iliad" and writing the "Rape of the Lock," Pope, thinking he himself had artistic talents, put himself under Jervas's tutelage in 1713, and thenceforth

they were fast friends. The pupilage lasted the greater part of the year, in which Pope finding out his own weakness naturally magnified his master's power. So now they are together to personify the twin arts of Painting and Poetry. "I am copying," he writes him in 1714 (July 28), "the great master [Homer] in one art with the same love and diligence with which the painters hereafter will copy you in another," and again (Aug. 16), "It is not I that am to tell you what an artist you are, nor is it you that are to tell me what a poet I am, but it is from the world abroad we hope, piously hope, to hear these things."[1] And Pope proved that if the poet cannot make an artist great, at least he can make him immortal, for his "Epistle to Jervas," the first draft of which he made in that year, 1714, he afterwards polished into one of the most sparkling gems even in his own lyric crown, combining and co-relating their mutual powers, and declaring how they

> Like friendly colours found them both unite,
> And each from each contract new strength and light.

Thus in imagination they visit Italy together, the painter to ponder over Raphael's tomb, and the poet in the haunts of Virgil and Cicero, and thence to the monuments of the eternal city, where they are to

> Build imaginary Rome anew.

Then mourning the transiency of the loveliness of the ladies his friend had painted, he foreshadows his glory in transmitting them to posterity. Thus the Countess of Bridgewater's eyes shall still shine:

> Beauty, frail flower that every season fears,
> Blooms in thy colours for a thousand years.

At least they shall in this poem, of which Walpole remarks

[1] Pope's Works, vol. viii., pp. 5-6.

that Pope has enshrined the feeble talents of the painter in the lucid amber of his flowing lines.

Pope's Portraits of Swift.

These lessons in painting Pope took from Jervas have an interesting relation to the known portraits of Swift, for the poet worked hard, and one of his chief efforts was to paint his friend the Dean. After a year's trial he abandoned art in despair; he says that "when St. Luke painted an angel came and finished the work, and it will be thought hereafter that when I painted, the devil put the last hand to my pieces . . . for I have been so out of conceit with my former performances that I have thrown away three Dr. Swifts, two Duchesses of Montague [another of the Churchills], one Virgin Mary, the Queen of England, besides half a score Earls and a Knight of the Garter, . . . though I find my hand most successful in drawing of friends, insomuch that my masterpieces have been one of Dr. Swift and one of Mr. Betterton."[1] What pity that he should throw away that one masterpiece of Swift! Whatever its faults it would perhaps sell for thousands at Christie's to-day, fetching more than a dozen of his master Jervas's immortals.

Or if personal vanity could make a painter great Jervas would be great indeed. He was an admirable copyist, as proved by his copies of the Raphael cartoons at Hampton Court, which were the admiration of Oxford; and once having copied a Titian he fell back in an attitude to gaze at that picture and at this, and exclaimed in plaintive ecstasy—"Poor little Tit, how he would stare!" When painting the Countess of Bridgewater, very probably snubbed by her Ladyship for showing her his adoration, he said he could not help telling her she had not a handsome ear. "No?" said the lady, "and pray, Mr. Jervas, what is a handsome ear?" The coxcomb raised his finger and pointed to his own.

[1] Letter to Caryll, August 31st, 1713.

Pope's high estimate was not quite gratuitous, for Jervas was a most useful friend. Through their long friendship of twenty-seven years there was welcome for the poet of Twickenham at Cleveland Court, when and as often as he pleased; and even when the master was absent it was his house of call, whither he might direct all his correspondence, and leave his manuscripts to be called for; and when in 1716 Jervas went to Ireland for two years, he undertook to solicit subscriptions for the "Iliad" in Trinity College and from all his friends, a service for which Pope was grateful indeed. But the mutual affection was genuine, ending only when Jervas died, 1739, leaving the poet £1,000 legacy. In the summer of 1715 they, with Dr. Arbuthnot and Colonel Disney, made a famous riding party to Bath: they took up Pope at Binfield *en route*, and then visiting Oxford and several fine country houses as they went, they had a glorious time of it. Years after, in the summer of 1739, when both were failing, Jervas home from Rome, whither he had sought after health, not art, Pope tells a friend he had dined the day before "with Jervas upon a venison pasty where we drank your health warmly but" temperately, "for neither he nor I are well enough to drink wine."[1]

The truth is that Jervas had abundant merit in spite of his vanity; he was most good-natured—a decided *bon enfant*, as vain people sometimes are. He was very clever, not only with brush but pen. He set himself to translate "Don Quixote," though the sneerers said he knew no Spanish; but the version published after his death, in 1742, was in truth a great success, and its fame long survived; it was not superseded by Smollett's translation thirteen years later, which was largely indebted to it. The book contained an essay, by Warburton, of "The Divine Legation,") "On the Origin of Books of Chivalry," of which Pope tells him he never read a thing

[1] Pope to Fortescue, August 17th, 1739 (Pope's Works, vol. ix. . 144).

with more pleasure than an additional sheet to Jervas's preface to "Don Quixote,"—"before I got over two paragraphs I cried out, '*Aut Erasmus aut Diabolus.*'"[1]

When Swift, with the new glory of "Gulliver" upon him, visited London finally in 1726, he lodged with poor Gay, whose *ménage* was scanty, and who borrowed the bed linen from Jervas, which he afterwards informs the Dean[2] he had duly sent home to the owner mended, finely washed, and neatly folded up. Jervas's letters are genial and sprightly, and without the elaborated ease of the literary epistles which the wits of the day, and notably Pope, wrought in writing to their friends. His intimacy with Swift, too, lasted to the end. He writes to the Dean in 1734,[3] cordially telling him how Mrs. Pendarves, the beautiful Mary Granville, afterwards the wife of Dr. Delany, has been made happy with a print of you; adding, "And I do not fail to distribute them to all your well-wishers." These were copies either of Vertue's engraving or of Fourdrinier's mentioned later on. He was a great collector of things of art and antiquities, sold off at his death at a three days' auction. *Non pudeat Hiberniae* of this warm-hearted and accomplished volatile Irishman, whom yet she would seem to have forgotten. He was born in Dublin in 1675.

THE BINDON PORTRAITS

When we come to the Bindon portraits we are on firmer ground. In his History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, 1819, Monck Mason says there were four pictures of the Dean by

[1] Pope to Warburton, December 28th, 1742 (Pope's Works, vol. ix., p. 227).

[2] Gay to Swift, September 16th, 1726 (Swift's Works, Scott, vol. xvii., p. 64).

[3] November 24th, 1734 (Scott's "Swift," vol. xviii., p. 252).

this artist, and he enumerates them: (1) That at Howth Castle; (2) that in the Deanery House; (3) the portrait painted for Robert Nugent in 1740, then in the possession of the Marquess of Buckingham; and (4) a three-quarter length, *said* to be by Bindon, then in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Berwick.

The Howth Bindon.

(1.) The pedigree of the first is clear. It still stands in the hall of the ancient Norman castle of Howth, just opposite the entrance, a somewhat awesome presence, and here it was seen by Sir Walter Scott, who thus describes it: "He is represented in the clerical costume. To the left of the figure is seen the Temple of Fame in the background; on the Dean's right appears the genius of Ireland, extending a laurel wreath, as about to crown the patriot: in his left hand he holds forth a scroll on which is written—'The Fourth Drapier's Letter.' At his feet, on the right of the picture, lies bound the famous patentee, Woods, he is depicted in agony. On a scroll is written 'Woods' Patent.'" In this portrait the bright, mischievous archness of his Queen Anne's, or even his George I.'s period, has now vanished, replaced by the haughty melancholy which we can yet readily fancy flashing up in misanthropic scorn or masterful wrath, moods too lightly set down by some to disappointed ambition and exile from his social supremacy in London. For his life was now (1735) on the ebb, though at times the innate spirit of humour would assert itself, even boisterously, and in lucid intervals of his sadness he would be found battledoring fun, like a schoolboy, with his playmate, Thomas Sheridan.

This Howth portrait is absolutely authentic: in a pleasant letter, written from Co. Kilkenny, 6th July, 1735, above referred to, Lord Howth, after giving direction to have the picture sent home to him direct, proceeds with a humour evidently borrowed from his correspondent and meant to

please him, to caricature the Bishop of Ossory, then a subject of Swift's wrath—"As to reading and working my wife observes your directions. . . . She desires me to tell you that the liking she has to 'the baboon' is out of the true regard she has for you, he being one of your greatest favourites. . . . As for news we have no such thing here; only the baboon has done his visitation: that is, he goes into the churches, and looks about, then asks the tumbler Sykes how long they have been coming. 'So long,' says Sykes: 'Aye,' replies the baboon, 'and we shall be as long going back'; so mounts his horse and away. Who durst say the church is in danger when we have so good bishops." Swift's grudge was this: the bishops in 1731 had brought a bill into the Irish parliament for dividing the larger livings, with the worthy purpose of increasing churches and cures; but it was to be at the expense of the higher parochial clergy; they did not propose to contribute from their episcopal revenues. Dr. E. Tennison, Bishop of Ossory, was a chief promoter. Swift addressed the Commons in a powerful pamphlet, and assailed the bishops in a scathing lampoon, replete with fury and with fun: quoting Latimer as having said that the type of a despotic bishop was Satan himself, the archbishop of Hell, he proceeds—

> How nearly this bishop our bishops resembles!
> But he has the odds, who believes and who trembles.
> Could you see his grim face, for a pound to a penny,
> You'd swear it must be the baboon of Kilkenny.

The bill was thrown out, seventeen bishops voting for it: only three with the majority, whom the Dean exalts accordingly. Dr. Tennison was nephew of his namesake, the Archbishop of Canterbury; he came to Ireland as chaplain to the Duke of Dorset in 1730, and was almost immediately promoted to this Irish bishopric, after the mode of the day, and this in itself kindled against him the severe indignation of Swift,

who raged against the system with *saeva indignatio.* A photo-engraving of this Howth portrait appears as frontispiece in the fourth volume of this edition.

(2) The great full-length portrait by Bindon, secondly mentioned by Mason, is still in the Deanery House at St. Patrick's, where Sir Walter Scott saw it. It was painted in 1739 for the Chapter, who, by a minute dated St. Patrick's day, 1739, state "that the said picture and frame are the property of the Chapter, and they are placed at the instance of the Chapter in the Deanery House to save them from the damage they might suffer from the dampness of the Chapter House, where they were first designed to be placed." This portrait is very like the Howth one, but the lines are more masterful and less sad. Sir Walter describes it thus: "A genius appears in the piece displaying a scroll containing a Latin inscription partly undecipherable. . . . At the bottom of the canvas is the following:

The Deanery Bindon.

'Effigiem hujus Rev. admodum viri Jonath. Swift S.T.P. Ecclesiae Cath. S. Pat. Dub. Decani, in perpetuum harum aedium, totius cleri, et hujusce praecipuae gentis decus, amoris et observantiae ergo, pingi curavit capitulum suum.

Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.'

"In the back distance . . . is seen in perspective the great western door of the cathedral . . . leading immediately to that aisle in which the illustrious patriot is interred. . . . The frame is of black Irish oak, curiously . . . carved with a variety of emblematical figures, having at the bottom the arms of the Deanery and of Swift quartered in one escutcheon." This portrait ran more danger from another element than from damp. Forty-two years after it was placed there the Deanery House was destroyed by fire, and the then Dean, Dr. Cradock, re-

gardless of the other treasures, rushed for the portrait, and assisted in carrying it forth with a devotion worthy of "pius Aeneas" bearing his father Anchises from the flames of Troy. Sir Walter has an engraving of this portrait as frontispiece of both his editions of Swift, as also has Monck Mason in his "History of St. Patrick's," but in both the cherub, or genius upholding the scroll is omitted, with a questionable taste which was intended to be artistic. The scroll which Sir Walter found undecipherable, has been almost completely interpreted by Dean Bernard thus: "Hujus eximii viri *motu* Praehon. Rob. comes de Oxford——*ravit*, Reg. Annae Beatae Memoriae ut Primitia et Decem. Eccles. Hib. *de novo* Condonarentur." The words in italics are unreadable, but the allusion is clear to the aid rendered by Harley in obtaining from Queen Anne the grant of the First Fruits to the Irish Church, the extortion of which was Swift's first patriotic service, and which occasioned his memorable three years in London, in the absence which produced the deathless "Journal to Stella."

This portrait inspired Swift's friend, the Rev. William Dunkin, of whom more anon, to address the artist in a Latin poem, "Epistola ad Franciscum Bindonem," which, with an English version, was published by Faulkner in 1741. Like too many verses of the age, it has too much about the Muses and things in general; but the evolution of the canvas under the mind and hand of the portrait artist is felt and told with a poet's sensibility:

> The canvas—rude and sordid now no more—
> Imbibes the growing form at every pore,
> Till all compleat, behold—"The Man"—arise,
> Strength in his limbs, and lightning in his eyes.

However short this falls of the subtle delicacy of Tennyson, embalming Watts' idea of a true portrait painter:

As when a painter, poring on a face,
Divinely, through all hindrance finds the Man
Behind it, and so paints him that his face,
The shape and colour of a mind and life,
Lives for his children ever at its best.—

it is interesting to read, beside these nobler lines, the effort of the almost unknown Irish poet, written more than a century before. His Latin version is very spirited, speaking of the naked canvas:

Sordet adhuc, donec fuci violatus honore
Paulatim imbiberit speciem, sensimque sequacem
Indurit sese in formam: divinitus, ecce!
Spiritus accendit vultus; vigor excitat artus.

Less happy is his somewhat turgid gratulation of the Chapter on their Bindon portrait. "This grateful monument you raised to Swift, whose voice procured immortal Anna's gift," and goes on to forecast its destiny:

The future youth on this intent shall gaze,
And pant and sicken with a love of praise;
Their boiling blood in larger channels roll,
And all the Patriot kindle in their soul.—

lines which, exaggerated as they are, yet mark the current feeling towards the great tribune in the day of his disappearing.

This portrait is in fine preservation. It hangs in the dining-room of the Deanery House in its appropriate position, looking out at the old Cathedral towers. The present eminent Dean Bernard, who takes an active and loyally keen interest in all local memorials of his illustrious predecessor, has had everything done to do justice to this one. The splendid Irish oak frame which Sir Walter admired, though then falsely lacquered with gilding, is unique, and suggests regret that in the engravings of the nineteenth century this frame and the cherub are omitted. But it was twice engraved and

well engraved in mezzotint by Andrew Miller, of Dublin, in Swift's lifetime. These works are still extant. One is full length, inscribed: "Frans Bindon arm. impensis Capituli L. Pat. pinxit A.D. 1739. Andrew Miller fecit. Dub. 1743." The motto:

> Non ille pro caris amicis
> Aut patria timidus perire.—HOR.

Of this we print a photogravure copy in vol. vii.

The other is a half-length, with the name of the painter and engraver similarly inscribed, but with the mottoes, "Cum Magnis Vixisse" and

> Illum aget pennâ metuente solvi
> Fama superstes.—HOR.

The full-length engraving does not omit the cherub, which certainly does not take from its interest. There are excellent specimens of both these mezzotints in the National Portrait Gallery of Ireland, presented by Lord Iveagh from the Chaloner Smith Collection.

The Moor Park Bindon.

(3) This Deanery portrait is closely connected with another and earlier genuine Bindon, the existence of which Dean Bernard has lately discovered. I have not yet found where it now is, but the Cathedral records disclose a correspondence so late as 1874 between the then Dean West and Mr. Thomas Bateman, the eminent engineer, who was then the proprietor of Moor Park, in Surrey, the historic home of Sir Wm. Temple, of whose household Swift and Stella were members when William III. was king. There is a letter from Mr. Bateman announcing the safe arrival at Moor Park of the Swift portrait by Bindon which he had just purchased from the Cathedral authorities, and he asks if a portrait of Stella be procurable. The documents indicate that this Swift had been in

their possession from the time it was painted, and that when, in 1739, Bindon was engaged at the Deanery portrait, Swift being too ill to give him continuous sittings, he used, to complete it, this smaller one, which was in all probability one of his replicas of the Howth picture painted by him a few years before. The great similarity of the Howth and the Deanery Bindons confirms this view. Mr. Bateman's motive in the purchase being, presumably, Swift's early associations with Temple and Moor Park, it is greatly to be regretted that it is not now there, nor can Mrs. Johnston Foster, the present courteous owner, say when it was taken away, for after Mr. Bateman's death there was an intermediate proprietor of the place. This is an example of the way in which the links in the pedigrees of valuable heirlooms are lost, and of the difficulties met with by those who would trace them. Moor Park was, indeed, a natural home for a portrait of Swift, where he and Stella lived when both were young, where began their strange mysterious life romance, and which they left together to come to Ireland two hundred years ago.

The Nugent Bindon.

(4) But perhaps the most pathetic interest graces the portrait, thirdly mentioned by Mason, the latest of all, painted by Bindon in 1740, when the great spirit was sinking through manifold decays of brain and body into the awful four years' lethargy, roused by fitful paroxysms, which closed the strange, eventful history. In April of that year Robert Nugent, afterwards created Viscount Clare and ultimately Earl Nugent, writes to Mrs. Whiteway, Swift's cousin, and then his nurse and amanuensis at the Deanery: "I shall say nothing of the picture, because I am sure you remember it; I must beg that you will let Mr. Bindon know I would have the picture no more than a head upon a three-quarter cloth to match one which I now have of Mr. Pope." Swift was now in the state indicated in Spenser's "Why dyest thou still and yet alive art found?" In the same

April he wrote in one of his very last letters: "But I am and have been these two days in so miserable a way and so cruelly tortured that can hardly be conceived; the whole last night I was equally struck as if I had been in Phalaris's brazen bull, and roared as loud for eight or nine hours." This picture was afterwards sent to Nugent by one of the faithful few who did not desert the idol now that it was fallen from the pedestal. The picture was accompanied by verses of very considerable merit in Swift's metre and tenderest spirit, and has a high biographical value for the image it gives of the shattered genius whilst still alive.

From Bindon's colours you may trace
The patriot's venerable face,
The last, O Nugent, which his art
Shall ever to the world impart:
For know, the prime of mortal men,
That matchless monarch of the pen
(Whose labours, like the genial sun,
Shall through revolving ages run,
Yet never, like the sun, decline,
But in their full meridian shine)—
That ever-honoured, envied sage,
So long the wonder of his age,
Who charmed us with his golden strain
Is but the shadow of the Dean:
He only breathes Bœotian air—
'Oh! what a falling off was there!'
Hibernia's Helicon is dry,
Invention, wit, and humour die;
And what remains against the storm
Of malice but an empty form?
The nodding ruins of a pile
That stood the bulwark of this Isle,
In which the sisterhood was fixed
Of candid honour, truth unmixed,
Imperial reason, thought profound,
And charity, diffusing round
In cheerful rivulets the flow
Of Fortune, to the sons of woe.

The poem, then, with scathing scorn, assails the supple train of those who had knelt round him so lately, but now had fled from the sinking ship. The poet was the Rev. William Dunkin, whose relations with the Dean explain the grateful fervour of the four last cited lines, and exemplify, perhaps, the most generous characteristic of Swift's multitudinous nature—his ceaseless bent towards helping struggling talent —which has not been enough dwelt on by his admirers, and has been ignored in the estimates of Jeffrey and Macaulay; and yet his recorded instances would take a long chapter in themselves. Dunkin, when a student in Trinity College, had translated into English verse Swift's Latin lyric on the Rocks of Carbery; his aunt had left her fortune to the University, which therefore voted him a small annuity. Swift wrote to the authorities a masterful letter in 1736 supporting a memorial urging, that though the condition in the will that her nephew should be granted a fellowship was absurd, this should be imputed to the old woman's ignorance; but that her intention was plain and should be duly regarded. He therefore urged that the annuity should be increased to £100 a year, and that Dunkin should have a promise of the next College living. The annuity was accordingly increased, and the Dean commended his *protégé* to the Archbishop of Cashel, who ordained him. Shortly after the living of Coleraine, which was in the gift of the London Company of Londonderry, fell vacant, and Swift wrote two urgent letters in 1738 to his friend Alderman Barber, one of the principal directors, demanding the post for Dunkin, who, he says, "is a gentleman of much wit, and the best English as well as Latin poet in this kingdom; . . . he is a pious, regular man, highly esteemed, but our bishops like yours, have little regard for such accomplishments while they have any dunces of nephews or cousins; I therefore charge you to use your influence." Barber tried to help, but

Rev. William Dunkin.

did not succeed; the Dean's friendship, however, survived his own life, for the graceful Lord Chesterfield, when Lord Lieutenant, appointed Dunkin head master of the Royal School of Enniskillen, the nurse of so many famous Irishmen. He became a Doctor of Divinity, and died in 1765, leaving two posthumously published volumes of poems, whose average is not equal to that from which we have quoted.

This Nugent picture got to Stowe thus: Nugent was a social celebrity and man about town; Glover described him as "a jovial voluptuary, an Irishman who had left Popery for the Protestant religion"; he had a strong Irish brogue to the last, but he could write a good English quatrain, if, as is said, this be his:

> I loved thee beautiful and kind,
> And plighted an eternal vow;
> So altered are thy face and mind
> 'Twere *perjury* to love thee now.

He became a popular and witty debater in the English House of Commons, and was made a member of his Ministry by the great Lord Chatham in his second administration. He was a favourite with ladies and married three; first, a daughter of the Earl of Fingal; secondly, the sister of Mr. Secretary Craggs, Addison's friend; and thirdly, the Dowager Countess Berkeley; their only child, Mary Elizabeth, succeeded her father as Baroness Nugent of Carlanstown in her own right, and married George Temple Nugent Grenville, created Marquess of Buckingham, and the picture thus came into the Buckingham Collection at Stowe, where was also a fine portrait of Nugent himself by Gainsborough. When this was scattered at the great Stowe sale in 1848, this portrait was purchased by Mr. W. Robertson, then of Hoe Place, Surrey, which has long since passed into other hands, and I have not yet been able to trace the picture further. The companion portrait of Pope, mentioned in the cited

letter to Mrs. Whiteway, was also sold at the Stowe sale. *Where, too, is this portrait, now thus clearly traced up to and beyond* 1850? Mr. Robertson left Hoe Place some thirty-five years ago, and there is no trace or information about it at Hoe Place or Woking. The present editor, Mr. Temple Scott, advertised for it in "Notes and Queries" and in "The Athenæum," but without success. The companion portrait of Pope, also mentioned in Nugent's letter, appeared beside it at Stowe, and was also purchased for Mr. Robertson; perhaps this notice of it may now lead towards its discovery.

The Moore Abbey Swift.

(5) But there is a very remarkable and valuable portrait in the possession of the Earl of Drogheda at Moore Abbey, which was exhibited in the spring of 1903 at the fine Loan Collection in the Hibernian Academy, and strikingly coincides with what we know of the Nugent Bindon and the condition of Swift in 1740. It is "the head on a three-quarters cloth," mentioned in Nugent's letter, and the snowy locks fall to each side over the shoulders. Lady Drogheda most courteously gave me a photograph, with permission to use it for the present edition.

It is a most pathetic face, seemingly a few years older than those of the Bindons of 1735-6. The white hair falls from beneath a crimson skull-cap covering the baldness at the top, marking the period when he was a confirmed invalid, and had laid aside the periwig he had for thirty years habitually worn within doors and without. All points the date to be not earlier than 1739, when he had ceased to visit or to receive any save old and habitual friends, or to discharge any public functions, and when his voluminous correspondence had shrunk to nine letters in his own hand, the rest being carried on through his cousin and home guardian, Martha Whiteway. We may observe *en passant* that of the nine letters two were his last letters to Pope, two were to

Alderman Barber, one to Mrs. Whiteway, and one to Faulkner, in the last of which he says: "My memory is quite gone;" and five of them are to advocate the interests of his *protégés*, including his relatives, Deane and William Swift, and Dunkin. In 1740, of only six letters five are to Martha Whiteway, and in the following year a writ of *Lunatico inquirendo* issued from the Court of Chancery. The Moore Abbey records do not tell where or when this portrait was obtained. It has been said by some to be by Slaughter, who certainly was a contemporary artist of some eminence, and the expression and features are certainly painted with higher artistic skill than the Bindons of 1735 exhibit, for which reason an eminent expert of our time believes that it is not by the same hand. But I can find no trace of Slaughter having ever painted the Dean, or having been even known to him, no mention of his name appearing in all the Swift literature, so rich in allusion to the personages of his day, whilst the Dean's condition at the time of this portrait make it in the highest degree improbable that he should have sat to a stranger then. On the other hand, we know that Bindon, who was an intimate of old standing, did paint him in that year, 1739, for Nugent, who only received the portrait in 1740, and the question would probably be solved if the Nugent Bindon were now forthcoming. My surmise is that the Moore Abbey portrait is a duplicate of it, and the engraving which now appears in this volume may contribute to a true identification.

The Swiftsheath Bindon.

(6) These inferences since they were written have been somewhat confirmed. It was thought at Moore Abbey that the portrait there was the only one known with the crimson skull-cap. Swiftsheath, county Kilkenny, is the ancient home of the Irish branch of the Swift family. Its first owner was the great Dean's uncle Godwin. The dining room there I have lately been permitted to examine by the kindness of its present

owner, Mr. Godwin Swift, D.L., the lineal descendant of the first proprietor. It is replete with memorials of the Dean and the family, which I hope may justify the notice I append to this paper, for it might be called a gallery of illustration to the memorable autobiographic tract written by the Dean about the year 1727. Here has hung his portrait ever since his own times, and it has immemorially been attributed to Francis Bindon by the family. It is identical with the crimson-capped Swift at Moore Abbey. The pathos of the countenance is much enhanced in these surroundings, in the place where he spent his holidays in his boyhood, and whence he was sent to and maintained in Kilkenny College School by his Uncle Godwin till the time when he entered the Dublin University. No suggestion has ever been made at Swiftsheath that this picture was by Slaughter, and pending further light I meanwhile venture to class both these portraits as Bindons.

(7) The fourth Bindon, mentioned by Monck Mason as a three-quarter-length portrait in Mr. Berwick's possession, is that of which a photogravure copy appears as the frontispiece in the third volume of this edition of Swift's works. It is almost certainly an artist's replica of the Howth portrait, and as certainly it is not a mere copy. The accessories of the genius of Erin, the writhing Wood and the Temple of Fame, are omitted, and in the dark of the neutral background there is merely a shadowed Apollo with the lyre: but the attitude, the angle of aspect, the pose of the head and contour of the whole person in both portraits are alike. The right hand in this portrait grasps the scroll, but the forefinger more clearly points to the legend upon it: "The Drapier's Fourth Letter to the whole people of Ireland," as with the fingers of the left hand he partly unrolls the paper. The arms and hands also are lowered considerably below the slightly open waistcoat, and the scroll is larger than in the Howth prototype, seemingly

The Berwick Bindon.

to suit the change from a full length with accessories, to a three-quarter length without them. This portrait is now held in trust by my co-trustee, Mr. Walter Berwick, and myself; it has been for a hundred years in the possession of the Berwick family traditionally handed down as an original Bindon, and as such was, with that of Stella hereafter mentioned, lent to the Exhibition at South Kensington in 1867, by the late Judge Berwick. As to this portrait and its cotemporary at Howth, it is remarkable that Swift in his later days, and thinking, as we know he then was, of the times that were to succeed him, for he was then planning his Asylum for the Insane, should select for posterity as his personifying composition his notorious "Fourth Drapier," that in which he had proclaimed the imperial independence of Ireland, and for which he and his printer Harding had been in jeopardy ten years before. This portrait was exhibited at the Cork Exhibition of 1902. It is in a state of perfect preservation.

The Brereton Bindon.

(8) Since the above was written my attention has been called by Mr. Strickland, the courteous Secretary of the Irish National Portrait Gallery, to a portrait by Bindon lately in the possession of Colonel Brereton, of Kilcullen, Co. Meath, of which Mr. Strickland has given me a photograph. It is almost identical with our Berwick Bindon just mentioned, which is the frontispiece of the third volume of this edition, save that the lineaments of the features are not so marked, which makes the countenance less haughty and more amiable. In the right background an open country with a gray horse takes the place of the classic statue, but the chief interest lies in the inscription on the scroll, where, instead of the "Fourth Drapier's Letter," we read "Travels by Lemuel Gulliver—A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms. F. Bindon arm 1737." This is the sole portrait on which the artist's name appears on the canvas, thus, whilst attesting its

genuineness, confirming our inference that Bindon, like Jervas, made several replicas. Colonel Brereton got this portrait in 1847 from his father-in-law, Mr. Paul Barry, an old resident of Dublin, who prized it as a traditional original Bindon. It was sold in 1904 in Messrs. Bennett's Sale Rooms in Dublin, and purchased by the family of Mr. Swift MacNeill, M.P., who are also descendants of the Dean's uncle Godwin, of Swiftsheath.

Dr. Hill's Bindon (?)

(9) A very excellent likeness of Swift was in 1904 on exhibition in the Irish National Portrait Gallery, lent by Miss Curtis of Portlaw, co. Waterford, to whom it descended from her great-grandfather, Dr. Edward Hill, an eminent physician in Dublin in the earlier years of the last century. It has been traditionally attributed to Bindon. Interesting in itself, it is more so for the controversy long existing concerning it, and which we venture to think we at last can solve. It is painted on paper carefully laid on a small oak panel, in an oval some 13 by 9 inches, not in oils, but in pastel and water-colour. Of this Sir Walter Scott (1814) says: "Another portrait, supposed to be one of the best likenesses in existence, and *also painted by Bindon*, is the property of Dr. Hill of Dublin. The expression of the features differs in some respects from the picture in the Deanery, being rather of a deep and melancholy cast than of the stern, harsh, and imperative character." On this Monck Mason (1819) remarks:[1] "There is a small portrait of Swift, done in crayons, if I recollect right, in the possession of Dr. Hill, of Dublin; Mr. Scott says it was executed by Bindon, but I apprehend he is mistaken, as Bindon did not work with those materials." Nor did Bindon ever work with the artistic finish, delicacy, and precision which this portrait displays in the sparkle of the eyes, in the

[1] "History of St. Patrick's," p. 444.

deep black eyebrows, in the contours of the double chin and careful curling of the periwig, all of which point to its execution by a skilful miniature painter. But it is equally clear that the artist had before him one of the genuine Bindons above mentioned, thus sufficiently accounting for its attribution to him; and, supported by the opinion of my friend Mr. Strickland, I conclude that this portrait is the work of young Rupert Barber, done at the time when he sketched in crayons the wigless portrait afterwards engraved for Lord Orrery's book, and hereafter referred to when treating of the engravings of the Dean. With this portrait Miss Curtis sent the original grant of the Freedom of the City by the Dublin Corporation presented to Swift in a gold box, and of which he was mightily proud. The grant emblazons the Swift arms in an impaled shield, the three stags in full course in the sinister with a mediaeval full-length of St. Patrick himself in the dexter. For Dr. Hill was an ardent Swiftian; Sir Walter Scott in his Memoir of Swift thanks him for the gift of an engraving of one of Wood's halfpence, which Scott prefixed to Section V., and which he vindicates as remarkably handsome and proved by Sir Isaac Newton, when Master of the Mint, to be equal in all things to the same denomination in England; but Swift's furious satire would have doomed them as base coin had they been pure gold.

Note. In Lady Cork's lately published "Orrery Papers" appears, in the second volume, an engraving there said to be of Dean Swift, from a portrait in the possession of the Earl of Cork at Marston. The face is handsome and the forehead is high and retreating like Swift's, but the other features and expression are not even like him or any of his known portraits; but that it is not a portrait of the Dean is absolutely proved by the portrait itself on even a slight examination, for his robes are not those of a clergyman at all, but of a Lord Chancellor or dignitary wearing similar judicial robes. It ought not to be difficult to identify this portrait, for it is an excellent one, but I have not been able to obtain a clue to its original.

FRANCIS BINDON

Francis Bindon was a cadet of a good old Anglo-Irish family in the county of Limerick represented there up to our day. Though probably never out of Ireland, he won a high insular reputation, as in the ode to Mr. Pecksniff, "The Architect, Artist and Man." Mr. Deane Swift, who was much with his cousin the Dean in his last days, speaks of Bindon thus: "One of the greatest painters and architects of his time."[1] On account of his age and some little failure of his sight he threw aside his pencil soon after the year 1750 and afterwards lived to a good old age, greatly beloved and respected by all who had the happiness either of his friendship or acquaintance. He died June 2, 1765.[2] His merit as an architect is still attested by Russborough in the county Wicklow, designed by him for Joseph Leeson, the first Lord Russborough and Earl of Milltown; and Bessborough in the county Kilkenny, built for the first Earl of that name. At Bessborough there has long been a portrait inscribed as the founder of the house, which was therefore supposed to

[1] Nichols's edition (1808), vol. xvii., p. 302.

[2] His death is thus announced in Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," of Tues., June 4, to Sat., June 8, 1765:

"Died suddenly on Sunday last, in his Chariot, in his way to the country, Francis Bindon, Esq., one of the best Painters and Architects this Nation ever produced. He was a most Polite, well-bred Gentleman, and an Excellent Scholar, which he improved by his Travels abroad. His fine Paintings and Architecture will remain a lasting Monument to his Memory. Witness the Portraits of the famous Dean Swift in the Deanery House of St. Patrick's, Dublin; Lord Howth's country seat, two others of that great Genius, in another House in different Draperies. There are also two full Portraits of his Painting in the University of Dublin, of Dr. Baldwin, late Provost, and of Dr. Boulter, Primate of All Ireland, in the Workhouse of Dublin. Some Houses of his Designs are those of Lord Bessborough, Mount Morres, and Sir William Fownes, in the county of Kilkenny, and Milltown's in the county of Wicklow."

represent one of the ancestors of the Ponsonby family, but it has been ascertained to be that of the artist himself, the designer, and in this sense, founder of the house. Beside his portraits of Swift he painted those of many distinguished cotemporaries: that of Lionel, Duke of Dorset, when Lord Lieutenant in 1734; of Hugh Boulter, the Primate 1724-1742; of Cobbe, Archbishop of Dublin; and of Lord Chief Justice Singleton, of the Irish Common Pleas, who was Swift's dear friend when Serjeant-at-Law.

BUSTS OF SWIFT

When the old sick lion at last lay dead, and when to think of him, as Thackeray has finely said, was "like thinking of the ruins of a great empire," he was laid out in state in the hall of his deanery house, and the Dublin crowds were permitted to enter, and say farewell. An eye-witness tells how his coffin was open, he had on his head neither cap nor wig, there was not much hair on the front or very top, but it was long and thick behind, very white, and was like flax on the pillow. Mrs. Barnard, his nurse-tender, sat at his head, but, having occasion to leave the room for a short time, some one cut a lock of hair from his head, which she missed on her return, and after that day no one was admitted to see him.[1] This Rape of the Lock is almost forgiveable, for all Dublin was seeking such relics.

> Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
> And, dying, mention it within their wills,
> Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,
> Unto their issue.

And yet, to adapt his own inscription of poor Stella's tress, it was—"Only an old man's hair!"

But whilst he thus lay a plaster cast was taken of his head and face, which for years was to be seen in the museum of

[1] Monck Mason's "History of St. Patrick's," p. 412.

Trinity College, until some sixty or seventy years ago it was accidentally destroyed. From this a bust was manufactured—"manufactured," because Sir William Wilde, who carefully examined it with the cast and with the skull of the Dean, exhumed in 1835, conclusively shows that in forming this bust all the posterior parts of the cerebellum are fictitious, the plaster rasped down according to the eye of the artist.[1] In Wilde's volume there is an interesting engraving of the right profile of this bust which alone is perfect, and which shows the junction of the mask with the posterior of the head. This bust has given rise to some keen literary controversy. Sir Walter, in 1814, apparently speaking of it as he saw it himself, says: "The expression of countenance is most unequivocally maniacal, and one side of the mouth, the left, horribly contorted downwards as if convulsed by pain. *It is engraved for Mr. Barrett's Essay.*" This judgement is rather irefully challenged by Monck Mason in 1819, who asserts that the expression in the original bust is not in the slightest degree maniacal, but "the most placid and the most free from any turbulent expression that can be imagined," and he says Scott must have taken his impression not from the bust itself, but from the engraving in Dr. Nichols's edition of Sheridan's "Swift," which Mason here alleges was taken from the cast, adding that it is a vile representation. Then Sir W. Wilde, in 1848, queries Mason's assertion that Nichols's engraving is taken from the cast, as he says there is no evidence of this. But I venture to think that Monck Mason was right, and I had formed the same opinion before I had noticed the dispute. The new edition of Dr. Nichols's first volume, in which the engraving appears, came out in 1808. In the preface he says he is indebted to the kind interference of Mr. Malone for the annexed portrait of the Dean engraved *from a drawing of him taken immediately after his death.* But

[1] "Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life," pp. 62-6.

whilst there is no evidence or tradition other than this of a post-mortem *drawing*, the intrinsic testimony of the engraving itself seems to negative that it was taken from a drawing—there is no suggestion of the snowy locks which flowed mane-like over the dead lion's neck, and which no artist would ever have omitted, above all when all the world around was urgent for one of them: the head in the engraving is almost bald or just as it would appear if copied from a bust. This seems to me to be almost conclusive. Shakesperian Edmund Malone was doubtless one of the surest channels of Swiftian traditions, for he was born in Dublin when Swift was still alive, and was himself still living when Nichols wrote, but few are the traditions that less deviate from the absolute than one recording an engraving as made from a drawing taken after death, which was in truth from a cast so taken, of which latter the evidence is absolute indeed. Monck Mason's conjecture also that Sir Walter judged from this engraving and not from the bust itself has some confirmation in this, that Sir Walter adds that the bust is engraved for Mr. Barrett's essay. Now no such engraving appears in this essay as first published in that same year, 1808, but this mistake, if it be one, can, I think, be easily accounted for. The very learned but very eccentric Dr. John Barrett, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, had a few years previously composed his "Essay on the Earlier Part of the Life of Jonathan Swift," taken largely from the College records of Swift's undergraduate years, but it remained unpublished until 1808, when Nichols's edition appeared, the prefatory advertisement of which states that when their work was nearly ready for the press the proprietors were favoured, through the friendly exertions of Mr. Malone, with the Vice-Provost's valuable essay. This is incorporated accordingly in the first volume, with which the same proprietors published separately and nearly simultaneously the Essay itself. The engraving is, however, inserted immediately in front of the copy of the Essay printed in Nichols'

edition, but whilst this, in a manner, may justify Sir Walter's statement, it seems to show that he spoke from things orally told him in Dublin when he came there shortly afterwards, and that he saw this engraving and was told that it was copied from the bust, as Mason unequivocally states it was when writing in Dublin only six years after Scott had published. I may add that Sir Henry Craik also regards Nichols's engraving as taken from the cast or bust. "Another portrait," he says, "is one taken from a cast after death when the placidity, which we are told by Mrs. Pendarves belonged to his appearance in the second infancy of his old age, had passed away and there remained only the distorted wreck that partial paralysis preceding death had left." The bust itself is to-day in the new anatomical museum of Trinity College, in its Golgotha or Place of Skulls, where, by the kindness of Professor Dixon, Professor of Anatomy to the University, I have inspected it, the Professor kindly examining it with me. It was curious to see how in a few minutes he formed precisely the same conclusions as to its manufacture at which Wilde had arrived sixty years before. The face, however, I would think, deserves neither to be called "placid" with Monck Mason, nor "contorted" with Scott or Craik; the expression is rather that of senility in death. The full deep lips have shrunk and sunk in, probably from the loss of the teeth, and are like those of an octogenarian. The muscles between cheek and mouth are more contracted on one side than the other, which both to Wilde and Professor Dixon prove a partial facial paralysis, but "contortion" is much too strong a term, for the lip corners that turned upwards so saucily in his prime are drawn downwards now equally on both sides, as of one who had long lived in deep melancholy or chronic despair.

But besides the ghastly denizen of an anatomical museum there are six marble busts of Swift specified by Sir W. Wilde

as existing in Dublin in 1846. Of these two are accessible to all, and each has some literary connexion. In the great hall of the library of Trinity College, Dublin, range thirty-six marble busts of the more or less illustrious, most of them distinguished sons of Alma Mater, each on a pedestal in the pillared spaces between the successive book-stand bays. Here, third to the right from the entrance, is the splendid head of Swift by Roubiliac: Whiteside is next to him, Goldsmith right opposite, his old friend Dr. Delany of Delville near, with Usher, Edmund Burke, and Parnell, another old friend, not far removed. This bust is worthy of subject and sculptor, modelled manifestly from the Jervas portraits, brilliant in expression like these, the forehead crowned with a garland of bays. It forms the frontispiece of Vol. x. of this edition. It was presented to the Library by the Senior Sophisters of 1738. This, the fourth, or final class of undergraduates, then habitually celebrated their approaching freedom by a festival, but in this year Sampson was now shorn of his strength, and gown and town could not hope often to see again their hero in the life. So the Sophisters forwent their festival. The story is recorded in Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" for 25th March, 1749. "There is arrived from London a marble busto of the late Rev. Dr. Swift, D.D., D.S.P.D., the workmanship of Mr. Ruzilliac (*sic*). It is done with exquisite skill and delicacy, and is looked upon by persons of taste as a masterpiece. It deserves to be mentioned that the class of senior sophisters, who, according to academical custom, formed themselves into a senate in the year 1738, applied the money usually laid out in an entertainment to the purchase of this busto, which they have given to be placed in the College Library among the heads of other men eminent for genius and learning, an instance of public spirit in young persons worthy of praise and imitation:

The Roubiliac Bust.

VERSES PROPOSED AS AN INSCRIPTION.

We youth of Alma,—thee her pride and grace,
Illustrious Swift, amid these heroes place;—
Thee, of such high associates worthiest found,
In genius, fancy, sense alike renowned.
Rich in unborrowed wit thy various page
By turns displays the patriot, poet, sage,
Born to delight thy country and defend,
In life, in death to human race a friend.
For mad and idiots—whom alone to teach
Thy writings fail—thy will's last bounty reach.
All hail Hibernia's boast! our other pride—
Late, very late, may Berkeley grace thy side."

The final aspiration in these mediocre lines has been so far fulfilled that Berkeley's bust has not *yet* been added to the Walhalla. Their best inspiration is obviously from the Dean's famous "Verses on his own Death"; the "unborrowed wit" is borrowed from:

To steal a hint was never known,
But what he writ was all his own.

And the allusion to Swift's Hospital from,

He gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad,
And show'd by one satiric touch
No nation wanted it so much.

The other public bust is even more world-famous, looking down from beside the Swift monument in his own Cathedral of St. Patrick's in the south aisle to the right of the south-western entrance. For many years it had been perched so high that the features could not be fairly seen, but Dean Bernard has very judiciously had it lately moved down to nearer the eye-line, not the least of his praiseworthy improvements. This was the work of an Irish artist, Patrick Cunningham, and was probably

The Cunningham Bust.

executed for Faulkner, his fantastic publisher, in the seventeenth volume of whose edition of Swift's works, 1768, it is rather fairly engraved, inscribed, "from the original in the possession of George Faulkner." The face seems somewhat older than in the Jervas portraits, but the dimpled chin and bantering mouth are there. Lord Macaulay, perhaps not here the most competent judge, says, that "it is considered much the best likeness of the Dean, striking and full of character." It was presented to the Dean and Chapter in 1776 by Thomas Todd Faulkner, the nephew of the publisher, in whose lifetime it had been the ornament of his bookshop in Parliament Street, where it stood in a bow window looking towards Essex Bridge from a bracket which remained till towards the end of the century.[1] Here Faulkner would show it to his customers. John O'Keefe tells how one day he was passing and saw Faulkner standing at his door, and as he stared in at the bust, which was then upon the counter, Faulkner, inferring from a portfolio under his arm that he was a pupil at the Royal Academy, invited him in. He turned the bust around, saying it was the head of his friend and patron Dean Swift. Then he took him upstairs and showed him his *portrait* of the Dean.[2] Faulkner kept this bust during his life. Yet notwithstanding his hero worship he undertook the publishing of Orrery's shabby "Remarks" only to bring discredit on himself. The public feeling in Dublin taking revenge in the following epigram:

> Faulkner for once you have some judgment shown,
> In representing Swift transformed to stone,
> For could he thy ingratitude have known,
> Astonishment itself the work had done.

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[1] Gilbert, "History of the City of Dublin," vol. ii., p. 52.

[2] This is the great full-length Swift in the theatre of Trinity College, but it is a copy of the Deanery portrait he had executed for himself after the Dean's death, and which subsequently to his own was presented to the University of Dublin.

A third of the six mentioned by Wilde is that now in the Irish National Portrait Gallery, for which it was purchased in 1899 on the death of its owner, Mrs. Ruthven, the daughter of Dr. Crampton who owned it in 1846 when Wilde wrote. The latter says it is by Van Nost, though there is a tradition in the family that it was by Cunningham. A close examination of this bust would, however, show that it could not have been by Cunningham, but that it is most probably a post-mortem composition by Van Nost, who first came to Ireland in 1750. Inspecting it carefully with Mr. Strickland shortly since, we could clearly detect the traces of the facial paralysis so marked in the post-mortem bust in the Museum; the flesh muscle forming the lower rim of the right eye is painfully dragged down, corresponding with the partial distortion of the mouth, and it is quite unlikely that an artist would or could have thus portrayed him in his life-time, whereas Van Nost came to Dublin when he was dead five years.

Van Nost's Bust in the National Portrait Gallery, Dublin.

This criticism is confirmed by a fourth of Wilde's busts, which when he wrote was owned by Mr. Watkins, a Dublin picture dealer, and which he says bears clear evidence of the facial paralysis, and which I believe is surely identical with that in the possession of Mr. Pierce Finucane of Pembroke Road, Dublin, who purchased it at the sale of the late Lord James Butler's interesting collection a few years ago. It seems to be a replica or duplicate of the Van Nost bust. Both have the occiput straight, which suggests a further inference, that it was composed some time after the Dean's death. The fifth bust, Wilde states, was at Charlemont House in Rutland Square in 1846. This I have been unable hitherto to trace, for Lord Charlemont's mansion has long been the public office of the Registrar General for Ireland, and its many

Mr. Finucane's Bust.

treasures have long since been dispersed. The sixth in Wilde's time belonged to Godwin Swift, Esq., which he says was by Cunningham, and if so was probably a duplicate of the bust in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

THE ENGRAVINGS OF SWIFT

Noble's List of Engravings.

Of these we have already mentioned those from the Jervas portraits by Vertue, Fourdrinier, and the two by Miller from Bindon, with that engraved for Lord Orrery's Essay and that published by Nichols. In Noble's "Continuation of Granger's Biographical History of England," a list of engravings of Swift is given, which is as follows:

Jonathan Swift, 12mo., A. Bannerman, sc.

Jonathan Swift, 12mo., J. Basine, sc., 1774.

Jonathan Swift, mez., Markham, p., Burford, sc., 1744.

Jonathan Swift sitting in a nightgown holding a pen, fol., C. Jervas, p., P. Fourdrinier, sc.

Jonathan Swift sitting holding a book, mez., Markham, p., V. Haecken, sc., 1741.

Jonathan Swift, wh. length, mez., F. Bindon, p., 1739, A. Miller, sc., 1743.

Jonathan Swift, oval frame, canonical habit, 12 verses, mez., P. Pelham, sc.

Jonathan Swift sitting, "Exegi Monumentum aere perennius," Vertue, sc.

Jonathan Swift, oval frame, wig, canonical habit, la. fol., Vertue, sc.

Jonathan Swift, 8vo., Vertue, sc.

Jonathan Swift, profile, prefixed to his life by Lord Orrery, 12mo., B. Wilson, sc., 1751. This is taken from a profile in crayons by Mr. Barber which belonged to Dr. Mead.

Some of the above were engraved long after Swift's death, and are scarce worth further tracing. Those ascribed to Mark-

ham, however, engraved by Van Haecken and Burford, need some notice. There is an excellent specimen of the former in the Dublin National Portrait Gallery; my late antiquarian friend, Rev. Wm. Reynell, gave me a good copy of the second. This is inscribed: "Markham ad vivum *delin.* Burford fecit 1744." They are nearly identical as portraits, but nothing seems clearer than that neither was taken *ad vivum*, but that they are manifestly copied from one of Bindon's portraits. The set of the periwig to the brow, the pose of the bands to the double chin, the opening in the waistcoat so peculiar to the Bindon portraits, and shown in Miller's mezzotints, are servilely reproduced in these Markhams, and although he seats the Dean in an armchair with a book in his right hand, the upturned wristbands and the hands and position of the fingers are taken *ad vivum* from Bindon. The real difference is in the lineaments, which represent an amiable old gentleman, the haughty tragic lines being quite lost which give the chief historic value to the Bindon portraiture. And it is most unlikely that Markham ever *painted* the Dean, though Noble's list writes "*p*" (pinxit) after Markham's name; the engravings have the doubtful word "*delin*" (or delineavit) which is even more applicable to a sketch or drawing than to a work in oils. A careful search has failed to ascertain the existence of any Markham a painter, and we account for these two made-up engravings by the great call for Swift's likeness after he disappeared in lunacy, a call which the existing portraits and engravings were unable to satisfy. Chaloner Smith states in the Catalogue of Mezzotints that the second of these engravings was formed by a mutilation of the earlier plate. Burford's name being substituted for Van Haecken, was further evidence of the manufacture. It may be added that Van Haecken was, as far as we know, never in Ireland.

The seventh in Noble's list, attributed to P. Pelham, is also noteworthy for its supreme audacity in the history of

engravings, which can only be accounted for by the popular craving for likenesses of Swift, and the shifts to which engravers were driven to gratify the demand. The Rev. Benjamin Pratt was Provost of Trinity College in William III.'s time; he died Dean of Down in 1721. An engraving of this dignitary was executed by J. Simon. This fell into the hands of the Philistines: the face was turned round to look to the left; for the inscription "J. Simon, fecit," "P. Pelham" was substituted with "J. Bowles, excud.," and the whole was boldly inscribed: "Jonathan Swift, S.T.D., Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin," with twelve glorifying lines on the Drapier's letters and the genius who turns brass half-pence into standard gold. And yet these daring coiners seem to have imposed their brass halfpence for standard gold not merely on the public but even on Mr. Noble, who made the above catalogue. And, strange to say, this is not the only instance of such base coin. Mr. Strickland has lately informed me of a similar specimen. James MacArdell engraved in mezzotint a portrait of Dr. Thomas Birch, after J. Wills. Dr. Birch died in 1766. The fourth state of the plate has the name "Dr. Birch" erased and "Dean Swift" boldly substituted.

The last enumerated in Noble's list is that engraved for the frontispiece of Lord Orrery's famous (some think them infamous) "Remarks," published by George Faulkner in 1751, just six years after Swift's death. It is inscribed "B. Wilson, fecit," without other indication whence it came. And if we knew no more of it one might surmise that it was spitefully selected by the spiteful author for his disparaging essay as his ideal of the lion dead, whom he was so ready to attend as a literary jackal when alive, sure if provoked to suppress him for ever with a growl, for this noble author had at hand the fine engravings of Vertue, Miller and Fourdrinier, to say nothing of the great portraits at the deanery or Howth Castle. Of this engraving Sir Henry Craik eloquently says

that it represents the Dean "in his later days, just before he entered on the dark valley that for him preceded death. In it we see the anguish, the loneliness, the despair of one who sounded depths in human nature that he feels would have been better unexplored, and who stands gazing, as it were, into a future which is overcast by dread of coming ill."

But it is fair to say that the coarseness and the gloom of this poor phantom may be attributable rather to the wretched art of the engraver than to the author's malice prepense. In the list of the engraved portraits of Swift which we have printed above, this Orrery likeness is enumerated last, with a note "taken from a profile in crayons by Mr. Barber, which belonged to Dr. Mead." Now this original crayon is still in the possession of Mr. Le Fanu, of Dublin Castle, to whom it came from his uncle, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, the novelist.[1] The family are lineally descended from Tom Sheridan, Richard Brinsley Sheridan's father, and his father, Thomas Sheridan, Swift's brilliant partner in puns and pasquinades. Mr. Le Fanu has very kindly given me a photograph of the crayon, which is neither coarse, nor despairing, nor blurred. It is a fine, clean-cut sketch, apparently intended for a bust, for the throat and neck are bare, rising above the slight classic drapery, and this accounts for the disuse of the full-bottomed wig. The names, Mr. Barber and Dr. Mead, indicate its origin, and their relations with each other and with Swift throw light not only on this profile, but on the Barber-Bindon crayon described above. Mead was one of his intimates in the Queen Anne days, and was one of the Court physicians at the Queen's deathbed, the only one bold enough to say she was dying, for Arbuthnot thought or said the case was not desperate. They had sent for the great Radcliffe, who said he was ill, and would not come,

[1] A copy of this crayon by Sir T. A. Jones, P.R.H.A., is in the Forster Collection and is reproduced in this volume.

for which he incurred a vote of censure from the House of Commons; and he wrote to Mead that he was in danger of being torn to pieces by the London mob.

Richard Mead.

Richard Mead was one of the most eminent of the eminent of his day, and only escaped being great for all time. Dr. Johnson says, "he lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man." Greatest in his profession, he was Court physician to the first two Georges, the intimate and correspondent of the famous Dutchman, Boerhaave. But he was great also as a natural philosopher, a classical scholar and a literary *savant*, the intimate and correspondent of Newton and of Bentley. In his home in Great Ormond Street, now the Hospital for Children, he had the best private library and one of the best art and *virtu* collections in London. Of these Dibdin says: "The ever-renowned Dr. Mead, whose pharmaceutical reputation is lost in the blaze of his bibliomanial glory." He was most generous and brave, in his great practice attending poor patients gratis, and when the all-powerful Walpole imprisoned his friend Dr. Freind for political reasons, being then himself in Mead's hands, Mead set him free by refusing to attend the Prime Minister until he was released, thus following the precedent of Louis XI and his Court physician. And when Watteau came to London, poor and ill, Mead attended him freely, but the grateful artist sent him afterwards two paintings of his own, which at present values would be indeed a magnificent fee. Mrs. Mary Barber, Swift's poetess *protégée*, the wife of a Dublin draper, went to London under his patronage, commended to his friends there as another Sappho; Mead took her under his wing. In November, 1736, she writes to Swift with effusive gratitude from Bath; she tells him her son is learning to paint, with very good prospects, and that Dr. Mead, whose goodness to her is great, may be of vast

Jonathan Swift.

From a water colour by Sir T. A. Jones. P.R.H.A
after the original sketch by Rupert Barber

use to him if he finds he is worthy of his favour. He was successful. Faulkner, in a note on this letter in 1767, says:[1] "Mr. Rupert Barber, a most eminent painter in crayons and miniature." Young Barber afterwards came to Dublin and joined the Swiftian circle at Dr. Patrick Delany's. In one of his latest verses to Delany, Swift rallying him *pro more* on his costly adornment at Delville, mentioned below in the notice of the Stella portraits, he says:

> Here a convenient box you found
> Which you demolished to the ground.
> Then built, then took up with your arbour,
> And set the house to Rupert Barber.
> * * * *
> You change a circle to a square
> Then to a circle as you were.
> Who can imagine whence the fund is
> That you *quadrata* change *rotundis?*

Thus we have Barber in Dublin in the Dean's failing days sketching his now almost bald head in crayons, and so confirming Sir Henry Craik's judgement that the period of this sketch was when Swift was at the entrance to the valley of the shadow. And thus, too, we can account for Dr. Hill's crayon portrait, painted by Barber from one of the original Bindons, probably that in the Deanery.

In 1737 Swift sent Mead a present of his works, and in a letter from Alderman Barber (he was no relative of the poetess) to the Dean,[2] he tells him "Dr. Mead is proud of your compliments, and returns his thanks and service." Mead's monument in the north aisle of the nave in Westminster Abbey has a fine bust and an inscription which gives an interesting emphasis to the Dean's presentation copy of his works. It styles him Archiatrus, or chief physician, and recounting his literary attainments, adds, "Bibliothecam lectissimam optimis et rarissimis libris . . . comparavit," in

[1] Swift's "Works," vol. xvi., p. 135. [2] March 13th, 1737-38.

which we may surmise that he esteemed his "Gulliver" and "Tale of a Tub" as amongst at least the most original of its contents. In the few months before and after his death Mead's library and art collections were sold in London, and fetched the then great figure of £16,000. There is an octavo copy of the catalogue of the sale in the British Museum. We may presume it was then the Barber sketch came back to Ireland.

From this review of his portraits it must be admitted that Swift left behind him no really great likeness in the artistic sense. His day was too late or too soon for this. He just escaped sitting to Kneller. The journal to Stella in October, 1710, tells how his friends, Congreve the poet and Delaval, had begged Sir Godfrey "to paint him for nothing," and how the artist wrote entreating Swift to sit to him, but "I know not yet when I shall sit."[1] Nothing more is heard of the project. Perhaps Kneller didn't care to renew the offer, learning that he was at the same time sitting to Jervas, and his own day, as we have seen, was then waning. Then it was in the generation after him that the splendid constellation of English portrait artists, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, and Hoppner rose above the horizon. But we may sorely lament that he was not sent down to us by Hogarth, who had just taken to portrait painting when Swift published "Gulliver" and visited London for the last time in 1726. Kindred spirits they were in many things, for the author of "The Houyhnhnms" and the painter of "Marriage à la Mode" and the "Harlot's Progress" saw the humanity that passed on the stage before and around them in similar ghastly and awful lights. Exuberant in genius, neither was an artist in the higher and angelic sense, having the "vision and the faculty divine," and the biographer of each might, perhaps, not inaptly call Hogarth the Swift of the painters, and Swift the Hogarth of the poets.

[1] Journal to Stella, Dec. 6, 1710 (vol. ii. of this edition, p. 67).

SWIFTSHEATH

SWIFT'S autobiographical tract was first published and edited by his cousin Deane in his essay of 1755, under the title of "The Family of Swift." He lodged the Dean's manuscript in Trinity College, in the library of which it still lies. Swiftsheath is a fine old mansion and demesne on the Nore, near where Spenser saw it—"The Stubborne Newre, whose waters gray by faire Kilkenny and Rosseponte boord." The Dean's tract begins with a statement that the Swifts were ancient in Yorkshire, and from them descended a noted person under the name of Cavaliero Swift, a man of wit and humour, of whom many traditional pleasant stories are related which the family planted in Ireland hath received from their parents. He was created Lord Carlingford. And in the next section he says there was another of the same family, Sir Edward Swift, well known in the times of the great rebellion and usurpation. The portraits of both these, the Cavaliero and Sir Edward, are conspicuous in the Swiftsheath dining room, declared cavaliers both, with ruffles and lace and twisted moustaches. They were half-brothers, sons of Sir Robert Swift of Rotheram, Yorkshire. Sir Edward, the elder, was knighted by James I., and married the sister of Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, but died without posterity. The younger 'Cavaliero' was Barnham Swift, created Viscount Carlingford in Ireland in 1627, though, as the Dean says, he was never in that kingdom. He took his name Barnham from his mother Ursula, cousin german of the great Francis

Bacon. A new interest has lately been given to these two royalist portraits. "Cavaliero" Barnham died without issue male; but he had married Lady Mary Crichton, sister of the Earl of Dumfries, and his own sister Penelope became the wife of that earl. This Dumfries peerage having merged in that of the Marquis of Bute, the late Lord Bute a few years ago wrote to Mr. Swift of Swiftsheath, inquiring after the portraits of the two cavaliers who had thus become figures in his own pedigree. Mr. Swift sent them to Lord Bute, who had copies taken before they were remitted to the Swiftsheath walls. The Dean is somewhat uncertain as to these Yorkshire kinsmen. He says that Cavaliero Barnham's heiress, whether of the first or second descent, was married to Robert Fielding, commonly called the handsome Fielding, and that the Earl of Eglinton married another co-heiress of the family. He is nearly correct, however. The daughter of the Earl of Dumfries and Penelope, Cavaliero's sister, married Alexander, eighth Earl of Eglinton, and it was his own daughter, Mary Swift, who became the wife of the profligate Beau.

Then there is a portrait in episcopal lawn of Bishop Godwin, of Bath, who was the Dean's great-great-grandfather, for his daughter was the mother of the Rev. William Swift, of Canterbury, presently described. Through him the prenomen of Godwin has been hereditary with the Swifts for many generations.

There hangs close beside the Dean's own portrait, as he would wish to have it, one not indeed of a Swift, but of one of his prime lady favourites, the once beautiful and popular Mary Granville, who, as Mrs. Pendarves, was the charming correspondent of the Dean in his later years. During his last illness she married his intimate friend, Dr. Delany, whom she long survived. Her small picture here is of an elderly widow; the traces of beauty are gone, but the plump, rosy countenance is full of animation, and the broad fore-

head beneath the great widow's cap betokens the active talent which dictated the six large volumes of "Autobiography," which are still standard authorities to illustrate the persons and the doings of her time.

On the side wall opposite are the portraits of the Dean's great-grandfather and grandmother, Rev. William Swift and his wife, called by the Dean "The Heiress of Philpot," a Tudoresque pair. This grandsire, he says, was a divine of distinction in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. He wrote one notable sermon at least, which got into the Bodleian, but the Dean says "I never could get a copy, and I suppose it would now be of little value." He wears the Elizabethan ruff and clerical habit of the day. Swift calls him the founder of the Irish branch; he and his father, Thomas Swift, were successively rectors of St. Andrew's, Canterbury, whither they had migrated from the cradle of the family in Yorkshire, and he tells us that both these pictures were, when he wrote, in the possession of his cousin of Swiftsheath. The lady is the more interesting, for her dutiful grandson says she was a capricious, ill-natured and passionate woman, and that her portrait has a good deal of the shrew in her countenance, and that according to family tradition she disinherited her only son Thomas (the Dean's grandfather) for no greater crime than that of robbing an orchard when a boy. Mr. Deane Swift's note adds that she threatened to whip her said son, when mature and a graduate, for some trifling misdemeanour. Yet this portrait rather suggests strength than shrewishness; its lines and expression remind one of the Dean himself, and hint that his own masterfulness may have been in some degree hereditary from this Heiress of Philpot. She perhaps justified her opinion of the heinousness of apple stealing and its penalty of disherison by the precedent of the sin of her own first parents and the expulsion from Paradise, and the ill consequence of undue use of this fruit was exemplified in the case of the Dean himself, if he was right in attributing,

as he always did, the chronic disease of his life which ended in catastrophe to a surfeit of apples in his boyhood. Mr. Deane Swift's note tells us that both these pictures were done in 1623, when the gentleman was fifty-seven and the lady fifty-four.

Then comes the portrait of the disinherited Thomas himself, the Dean's grandfather, and next to the Dean the most romantic figure of the Swifts. He was the rector of Goodrich, near Ross in Herefordshire, renowned for his courage and loyalty to Charles I., "whose sufferings and hardships for the person and cause of that blessed martyr Prince," the autobiography says, "were more than those of any of his condition in England." He was plundered at Goodrich by the Roundheads, the Dean proceeds, six and thirty times, some say above fifty, and he adds the story of the £300 given by this poor rector to his king. It is amplified by Deane Swift's notes taken from Mercurius Rusticus, "Sufferings of the Clergy," and reads like a page from the Macedonian atrocities. The Earl of Stamford, commanding in Hereford for the Parliament in 1642, sent Captain Kirle with seventy troopers; in spite of a petition for mercy from Mrs. Swift, they carried off all the provisions and household stuff in the rector's own carts and horses, and when the lady with her babe sought to escape a trooper threatened to shoot her dead with a pistol to her breast. Petitions to the Earl for restitution being scoffed at, it was at last agreed that four of the horses should be redeemed by the Swifts, who then returned with their two children and restored their home, whereupon the troopers returned more than once, again denuded all things, stript the children and even the cradled baby, and when the little ones hung screaming by their dress, "they swung them about unwilling to part with them, until their holdfast failing they dashed them against the walls." These ruffians avowed their intention of destroying every Royalist in the district, and menaced the miller that if he ground corn for

these children they would grind him in his own mill. But the stalwart rector was not to be crushed. His offence was a sermon in Ross on "Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," and his having brought arms into Monmouth, which last charge was denied. Despite the many plunderings he managed to secrete some money and chattels in a hole dug beneath the basement, and escaped to Raglan Castle, then held for the King by the Marquess of Worcester. "What can you do for the King?" said the Marquess. "I give him this coat," replied the rector. "That's not much," rejoined his lordship, looking at it. "Then I give this waistcoat." And Thomas handed it over and bid the governor weigh it. It was ripped, and was found, the Dean says, lined with three hundred broad pieces of gold, which as it proved a seasonable relief must be allowed an extraordinary supply from a private clergyman with ten children with a small estate so often plundered and soon after turned out of his livings in the Church. This story had strong hold on the Dean's imagination, for in his last letter but one to Pope in April, 1739, introducing to him his Cousin Deane, he says: "My grandfather was so persecuted and plundered two and fifty times by the barbarity of Cromwell's hellish crew . . . that the poor old gentleman was forced to sell the better half of his estate to support his family. However, three of his sons had better fortune, for coming over to this kingdom, and taking to the law, they all purchased good estates of which Mr. Deane Swift has a good share, but with some encumbrance." The portrait of Thomas is of a young man; we learn from Deane that it was taken when he was twenty-eight in the same year, 1623, with those of his father and mother above described. He died in 1658, just too soon to be rewarded on the Restoration, and so, as the Dean says, "his merit died with himself, but he managed to keep his place at Goodrich which he had purchased, and on which he built the house in 1636, which at the time of the autobiography

belonged to Deane Swift and is now owned by Mr. Swift of Swiftsheath. The architecture, says the Dean, denotes the builder to have been somewhat singular, and Deane adds that there never was nor ever will be such another building to the end of the world, and though added to in after years the photograph at Swiftsheath confirms this opinion.

The heroine of this romance, Mrs. Thomas Swift, was Elizabeth Dryden, daughter of John Dryden and sister of the great poet's grandfather. Dryden and Swift were therefore second cousins, but the Dean never forgave the severe judgement on the youthful odes to Archbishop Sancroft and Sir William Temple written when Swift was not much over twenty. Dryden then was the king in literature, and more than sixty, when he said, "Cousin Swift, you will never make a Poet," wherein in a sense he was quite right.

The rector of Goodrich was indeed a Parson Quiverful. Of his fourteen children five sons came to Ireland. Godwin, the eldest, who was called to the bar, married first a relation of the Marchioness of Ormonde, and for this, as well as the family loyalty, was patronized by the great Duke after the Restoration and made by him his Attorney-General of the County Palatine of Tipperary. Thus Swiftsheath came into the family; it is just seven miles from the castle of the Ormonde's in Kilkenny. The third of this uncle Godwin's wives was Hannah Deane, sole daughter of Admiral Deane, one of Cromwell's regicides, a marriage which our autobiography says was to the great offence of the family. The Swiftsheath dining room has nevertheless a good portrait of the admiral, strong-visaged and determined, and like the regicide that he was. On the opposite wall and side by side are two good three-quarter length portraits of Deane Swift (the editor of the autobiography) and his wife, Mary Harrison, who was also of the Swifts. Deane was a grandson of Godwin and of Admiral Deane, and Mary was daughter of

Mrs. Whiteway by her first husband, she having been Martha Swift, daughter of Adam, the youngest brother of Godwin, and thus our Dean's cousin german. These portraits are of a good-looking and youthful couple, Deane of an intellectual cast, dark and pale, Mary is ruddy and of a fair countenance. The Dean through long years was most hostile to the family and memory of his uncle Godwin, whose fortunes failing in his old age compelled him to withdraw the support he had given his nephew both at school and the Dublin University. But when in his own decline his cousin, Martha Whiteway, came to the Deanery to be his amanuensis and nurse, he became greatly attached to her and her daughter Mary Harrison, his letters to whom are tender and loving. Then young Deane became engaged to Mary, and this brought him, too, into the Dean's confidence and good graces and healed the family feud.

THE PORTRAITS OF STELLA

THE premier portrait of Stella is certainly that in the dining-room of Mr. G. Villiers Briscoe at Bellinter, co. Meath, of which a photographic reproduction appears in the second volume of this edition. It is a splendid likeness of a splendid woman. Its presence on the side-wall fills the room as a presiding genius looking out in clear womanhood, her snowy, pillared neck beneath her jet-black hair. In the valley of her full bosom are two roses, red and white, as of Lancaster and York, rising from her pearly dress with a background of blue-green poplin, probably one of Swift's "stuffs," half silk, half wool, which he tried to introduce in London when he presented Queen Caroline with the sample, for not propagating which he never forgave her. This portrait was first engraved for Sir William Wilde in 1848, in whose "Closing Years of Swift" it forms the frontispiece. Wilde thinks it is the portrait of a young girl, but whilst the artist and the genesis are not known now, what we do know would show this to be all but impossible, and that it must have been painted some time about 1717-1718, when Stella was about thirty-five or thirty-six. We know how many ladies there are who retain their girlish beauty to that age and after, and especially women of the wholesome, balanced type of poor Esther Johnson—"so soft and yet so firm a mind," as Swift says of her in his "Birthday Verses," when she was more than forty. And this likeness itself is of maturer mien than that of a girl of twenty. Its

1 and 2. The Bellinter Stellas.

commanding air, appropriate to the fullness of womanhood, is seldom possessed by youthful beauties, or when it is may be anything but a grace.

That Stella retained her personal charms throughout her thirties there is ample evidence. Swift wrote her annual birthday verses each year from 1719, when she was thirty-seven, to 1726, when she was forty-four, and though in these he rather brutally rallies her on her advancing years, in the first, after comparing her when first he saw her at sixteen, the brightest virgin on the green, he adds:

> So little is thy form declined;
> Made up so largely in thy mind.

In the next year, speaking of the Promethean fire of her soul, he says:

> To that you owe the nobler flame,
> To this the beauty of your frame.

And in 1725, when she was forty-three, and then indeed in the beginning of the illness, the decay of the broken heart, of which she died three years later, he bids her go down to Quilca for restoration, and prophesies:

> Where mirth and exercise and air
> Will soon your appetite repair,
>
> * * * *
>
> Will agitate the lazy flood
> And fill your veins with sprightly blood;
>
> * * * *
>
> And if your flesh and blood be new
> You'll be no more the former you;
> But for a blooming nymph will pass
> Just fifteen, coming summer's grass,
> Your jetty locks with garlands crowned,
> While all the squires for nine miles round
>
> * * * *
>
> Shall leave deciding broken pates
> To kiss your steps at Quilca gates.

But all the available evidence points to the period of the por-

trait surmised above. The continuous tradition has always been that it belonged to Charles Ford of Woodpark and was presented by him to Mr. Preston of Bellinter, who was Member for Navan in 1731. Ford was a noted man about town in the last years of Queen Anne, a *persona grata* with the great Tories of the day, introduced by Swift to the Duke of Ormonde, and to Harley and Bolingbroke, whom Ford in his letters calls the Colonel and the Captain. He was then Swift's intimate confidant, constantly mentioned in the "Journal to Stella" as entertaining him at dinner and opera often twice in the week, and with him spending evenings at the Vanhomrighs. When Harley and Bolingbroke quarrelled in the Queen's last illness, he was Swift's go-between in his effort to set them at one, and to him was entrusted the Dean's pamphlet, "Free Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs," written with that intent, and brought by Ford to Bolingbroke, but suppressed immediately on the Queen's death. To him also, years afterwards, the Dean entrusted the manuscript of "Gulliver" to take secretly to the printer. Ford's biography has not been written, but he was certainly a notable, and his letter to Swift in 1714, with most interesting particulars of Queen Anne's death-bed, is a very valuable contribution to the then contemporary history. After the debacle of the Tories consequent on the Queen's death, Ford retired to Ireland, like the Dean himself, sorely chagrined at what, though Irish born, he regarded as banishment; but he did not settle here at once, for though he came over in the autumn of 1714 we find him writing in 1716 from Paris *en route* for Italy. And in a birthday lyric addressed to him by Swift (1 January, the year is not given, but it should probably be 1715 or 1716), Swift, condoling, urges him to follow his own example, who, though he thought his spleen would burst when sent home to St. Patrick's in 1714, had at last learnt to acquiesce and make the best of it. He bids him try to substitute Stephen's Green and Dawson Street for St.

James's Park and Pall Mall, the Dean himself and Sheridan for Pope and Gay, the Deanery House for the Thatched Club, and Stella for the Duchess of Montagu, Marlborough's lovely youngest daughter:

> She 's now as handsome every bit,
> And has a thousand times her wit.

And Ford would seem to have taken the advice at last, for he took up his residence a year or two afterwards in his paternal home of Woodpark, and there for several successive years was generously hospitable, the Dean and Stella being his most frequent and most welcome guests. Swift's famous lines, "Stella at Woodpark," have made the place classic in the topographies of the Kingdom. He mercilessly chaffs her on being obliged to return to her obscure lodgings on Ormonde Quay from her six months' stay (it was in 1722-1723) in the luxury of the house of Don Carlos, as he styles Charles Ford; from rich venison and quails and Pontac wine to her own meagre board:

> From purling streams and fountain's bubbling,
> To Liffey's stinking tide in Dublin,

Making amends only in the final couplet:

> For though my raillery were true,
> A cottage is Wood Park with you.

It may fairly be inferred that it was in the first of these years that Ford had Stella painted, though it is probable that this premier portrait was not finished till some time after from an original study, for in the same room at Bellinter is another Stella traditionally said to have been the first sent there from Woodpark. It is in pose and outline nearly identical with the finished portrait, but as a painting wholly inferior, as uncomparable as that of Hamlet's uncle to that of Hamlet's father,

Second Bellinter Stella.

though it wears the two roses and the pearly dress. On Ford's death his estates and belongings passed to Mr. Preston of Bellinter, and with these the Stella portraits. Here she still reigns in beautiful surroundings. The windows look out on the river Boyne and the green wooded plains trend upward to the Hill of Tara some four miles away, from which one of the Prestons took the title of Lord Tara some hundred years ago. Near the Stellas is an old portrait of the Dean, which probably also came from Woodpark, but it is neither a Jervas nor a Bindon, and I cannot therefore classify it as painted in the Dean's lifetime. The last of the Prestons passed away in this generation, and Bellinter and Woodpark too came to Mr. Briscoe, whose kindness I take this occasion to acknowledge for the pleasant visit I have lately enjoyed.

WOODPARK

But while Woodpark has always been a classic name with Swiftians, even its site had long since passed from living cognizance, and in our generation was known only to very few even of Dublin antiquarians: the clearest signpost in the old books was a note that it was Mr. Ford's residence about eight miles from Dublin, which means about eleven at the present day; so it was only by the aid of my friend, Mr. F. Elrington Ball, the historian of the co. Dublin, and the Ordnance Survey maps that I lately discovered and visited it. And yet its situation is conspicuous enough in the plain of Meath, in the centre of the fine country ridden over in the winter by the Ward Hunt and the Meath foxhounds, and the Fairy House racecourse extends close by. It is a curious and quaint old-fashioned place, occupying some hundred and twenty acres of the rich Meath pasture lands, so thickly planted as to justify the ancient name, the beech copses

glorious in the spring, spangled with primroses on the ground and in the hedges. But the house is in ruinous dilapidation. It has at a distance the aspect of an old Norman castled house with five embattled turrets; but these are only the orna-

WOODPARK

mented tops of old chimney breasts. The base is surrounded by a miniature moat crossed by bridges at the front and side entrances as if they were drawbridges, but they are of stone. Within, it has the appearance of a gutted castle, for the beams and joists of the several stories are but decaying fragments.

Yet standing in the ground floor you can still trace the position of the thirty-three rooms which attest to Ford's hospitalities. The great entrance leads into a hall running from front to rear of the building, over which was the grand drawing-room of equal size, on the broken wall of which yet stands a good chimney-piece of the Queen Anne period, for which the owner lately refused many pounds, thus betokening, we may hope, some purpose to restore the whole. The dreaminess of the place is enhanced by a subterraneous passage, which leads from the moat into an old-time garden, some seventy yards long, and through which a man can walk at his full height, but of the purpose of which there is no tradition. The country people speak of this place as Dean Swift's house, for Ford's name is forgotten; but genius is sometimes an expropriator, and the guest, or the ghost of the guest, has become seised of the freehold of his host. The demesne is bordered by what Camden would call a riveret, which is the upper water of the river Tolka, and this thus forms another silver thread in the memories of Stella and Swift, flowing down from Woodpark to connect it with that other haunt of theirs at Delville, of which anon. Well-known in its suburban vale as the sauntering tryst of city sweethearts, this Tolka came as a heaven-sent rhyme—the only one perhaps in the English language by which the poetasters could lyricize the Polish dance that captured these islands sixty years ago—yet few are the Dublin folk who know it by name in these its upper reaches at Woodpark, near its fountain in the upland levels of Royal Meath.

The photograph, from which the drawing here reproduced was made, was given me by Miss Davidson, the daughter of the rector of the parish in which Woodpark lies, who most kindly accompanied me over the place.

(3) The portrait of Stella, of which the pedigree is most authentic, subject perhaps to that at Bellinter, is the Berwick in

the possession of my co-trustees and myself, and which appears engraved as the frontispiece to the "Journal to Stella," in the second volume of this edition. It was in the possession of the Rev. Edward Berwick, as already stated, in the early part of the last century, when Sir Walter Scott visited him in Dublin. Of this Sir Walter says, in his Memoir prefixed to his edition of Swift's works: "The only portrait of Stella known to exist is in the possession of my kind and respected friend the Rev. Mr. Berwick." This, we may assume, was on Dr. Berwick's information: his memories went far back into the century before, and he well knew many of the survivors from Swift's own days. Wilde, who regarded the Bellinter portrait as a discovery of his own, disparages this Berwick Stella because the black tresses show some shades of brown, as those of most dark beauties do when the light is full upon them. The expression is not so queenly, perhaps, as in the Bellinter No. 1; it is more pensive, and is manifestly very like the lady it depicts. It is in fine preservation, and was exhibited by the late Judge Berwick at the South Kensington Exhibition of 1867, and lately at the Exhibition at Cork in 1902; and again in Belfast in 1904.

The Berwick Stella.

(4) The Irish National Portrait Gallery has a very fine Stella, artistically superior to either of the Bellinters or the Berwick. It rises through the brown medium of the background erect and rounded as a statue, which is one of the high marks of true portrait painting. The head and bust do not confront us as do the others, but are turned half aside; the face, however, slightly turned so as to show three-quarters: the black tresses are of the strong and wiry texture which causes them to curl in irregular coils, and they show still more brown lights than the Berwick, and are not the raven blue-black which Wilde deemed essential. The eyes are very

The Irish National Portrait Gallery Stella.

beautiful, dark brown. As a likeness it is not perhaps equal to the Bellinter or the Berwick, for there is something of smallness in the contour of the mouth which takes from the dignity seen in these two portraits. But it is manifestly the same lady and of similar date and mould: similar in the pose of the erect neck and the swelling bosom, which almost escapes from the confinement of the close-fitting pearl bodice, identical with that of Bellinter, the sleeves lined similarly with Swift's green poplin. And yet this portrait has a very doubtful pedigree. It was purchased for the Gallery from a Dublin dealer in 1893, who only knew of it that he bought it about 1891 at the sale of a Mr. Harvey, who had been a wealthy merchant in Dublin for over fifty years. Mr. Strickland is strongly of opinion that it was painted by Jervas, and it is very probable that it was so, for he was some eighteen months in Ireland in 1716-17, and we know his tendency to replicas.

The Coolmore Stella, Vanessa and Swift.

(5) Major Connellan, D.L., of Coolmore, co. Kilkenny, has in his fine collection three interesting portraits of Stella, Vanessa, and the Dean himself, the pedigree of which, though they are long in the family, is also obscure. The Stella, however, at once declares itself a replica or copy of the Bellinter picture. The pose, the figure, and the dress are identical, save that a green silk tie at the bosom takes the place of the red and white roses, whilst the silk bodice is saffron instead of pearl colour, and the green poplin overshawl is less developed than at Bellinter. But it is noteworthy that the black tresses are not the raven or blue-black, on which Sir W. Wilde set such store as essential to Stella, but in the full light show a brown tinge as in the Berwick portrait. Vanessa's portrait is apparently of the same date and artistic style in the fashion of the costume and pose of the figure; like the Stella of Bellinter it is set in an oval,

painted on the canvas, and as in it a green poplin shawl droops from the bust. Her face is certainly not beautiful, rather what we might name of the pansy type, pale, sentimental and weakish, although intellectual; the mouth plaintive and inquiring, but not lovely, yet characteristic as of a blue-stocking who died of love. The hand and arm, however, are slender, very graceful and pathetic.

The Coolmore Swift I am unable to classify; it is a fair likeness, but does not correspond with any of the known contemporary portraits. It is full in the face, but has neither the lurid traits of the known Bindons nor the brightness of the Jervases, and I would surmise that it was one of the many painted after his death and when the popularity of his fame created such a demand. It is like the Swift mentioned in the notice of the Bellinter Stella, which for the same reasons I am unable to classify.

The surroundings of these portraits are lovely indeed. Coolmore, the great angle, as the name imports, occupies an exquisite valley of the river Nore, where it flows below Kilkenny to the Barrow and Waterford. Checked by the hills as in a corner near the entrance to the demesne, the river turns and sweeps round the base in a splendid curve between the densely wooded slopes, bright and beautiful as anything in the island. Coolmore possesses a unique and most characteristic memento of the Dean, which was in the year 1904 lent to the great exhibition at St. Louis. It is a wonderful chair, having at its back a broad ledge serviceable as a desk, so that the Dean, when sitting in thought or reading, could turn and, astride on the seat, record his notes or musings. It was kept for the Dean in what was known as his room at Luttrellstown, near Lucan, by his intimate friends the Luttrells, with whom it was his habit to stay for the night on his walking visits to Vanessa in the early seventeen-twenties, making Luttrellstown a half-way house to Vanessa's Marley Abbey, near Celbridge. The last of the Luttrells

was Lord Carhampton, at whose death the place was sold to the celebrated Luke White, the father of the first Lord Annaly, by whom the chair was presented to the Connellan family, as already the possessors of the Vanessa portrait, after resting in Swift's room for 140 years.

(6) In the frontispiece of the eighteenth volume of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, 1768, appears the only likeness of Stella given to the world in the time of her contemporaries. It is artistically poor as compared with the book illustrations of our age, but a century and a half ago these were generally sorry affairs, though called by the publishers "embellishments," and Faulkner's embellishments of Gulliver are execrable though curious. This engraving is not so; it is characteristic enough and evidently a good likeness, the pillared neck and bust and the flowing tresses corresponding with the extant painted portraits. It is inscribed "Stella. From an original drawing by the Rev. *George* Parnel, Archdeacon of Clogher, in the possession of G. Faulkner." There is a blunder here in the Christian name George, for this was the once famous poet and brilliant classical scholar Dr. Thomas Parnell, and herein is the chief interest of this engraving and sketch, another evidence of the charm which Stella exercised over the most eminent intellects who came within the scope of her effortless and modest attraction, including Addison, not to speak of Swift himself. We can almost fix the date of this original sketch. Parnell, though Archdeacon of Clogher, held the living of Finglas, close to Dublin, a Swiftian home, for he had it in succession to "Dilly" Ashe, one of the punning coterie known as the Cartilians, into which Swift drew Lord Pembroke when Lord Lieutenant in 1707-9. Parnell died prematurely in 1717 at Chester on his way to Ireland; but a year or two before he, too, had retired in dudgeon from London, where he chiefly loved to live; and in 1716, when Jervas, as already mentioned,

visited Ireland and painted him, there are letters to him from Pope, Gray and Arbuthnot, imploring him to come back to them, which appear at length in Goldsmith's life of this poet. At this time he lived in close intimacy with Swift, and we may take this year, 1716, as pretty certainly the time when he comforted his exile in the company of Stella.

DELVILLE

The Delville Stella.

(7) In a little Greek temple in the grounds of Delville, Glasnevin, the old home of Dr. Patrick Delany, Swift's friend, and Dean of Down, was for more than a century attached to the front wall beneath the pediment a circular medallion showing the face of a young lady done in oils, which tradition represented as Stella, painted by Mrs. Delany, the doctor's wife. If painted by either of his wives, it was certainly not done in Stella's lifetime. His second wife, Mary Granville (Mrs. Pendarves), *the* Mrs. Delany, the writer of the great Memoirs, did not come to Ireland till 1730, and was not married to Dean Delany till 1743, and his first wife, Margaret Tennison, who brought him his fortune, was only married to him in 1732, four years after Stella was in her grave. If it was then a post mortem, hearsay likeness, that may account for its having been a very poor one, so poor as to raise a doubt if it was meant for Stella at all. It was engraved for Sir William Wilde's "Closing Years of Swift," as he saw it at Delville in 1848, and he says that the engraving exactly represents it in its then condition. The profile is not like Stella's; her fine columnar neck is poked forward at an angle of forty-five degrees, and her face is similarly projected so as to make the profile a triangle, the apex formed by a pointed nose, though Stella's was straight and comely. Wilde says the medallion,

when he saw it, was falling to decay, and some twenty years since its fragments were removed. But the temple still remains a shrine to her memory, and the whole place is haunted with phantoms of a hundred and twenty years gone by. It is interesting indeed to visit Delville in our day, as, by the kindness of its owner, Mr. O'Keefe, I have lately done, and compare the scene with Swift's disparaging descriptive verses, laughable enough for anyone but the owner, but so unjust as to be absolutely insulting, and amounting to a very slander of title, for Delany's taste and pains to beautify his home and grounds are scoffed and jeered at so as to make it strange that even Swift could have addressed such a lampoon to his friend:

> A single crow can make it night,
> When o'er your farm she takes her flight.
> Yet in this narrow compass we
> Observe a vast variety.

Then, alluding to the walks, the parterres and dells, the grass and corn:

> A razor, though to say 't I'm loth,
> Would shave you and your meadows both.

Worse than this, when we remember how the generous home was ever open to him and his:

> Though small 's the farm yet here 's a house
> Full large to entertain a mouse,
> * * * *
> For if it 's entered by a rat,
> There is no room to bring a cat.

The rivulet coursing down the dell is compared to the tears on a wrinkled cheek or the rain on a leek blade:

> And this you call your sweet meander
> Which might be sucked up by a gander.

Now the ancient inclosing wall, standing as when this lampoon was written, embraces a dozen acres at least, no contemptible demesne, when within less than two miles of the Castle of Dublin. And the site is very beautiful; it lies on the southern slope of the Glasnevin uplands, overhanging the valley of the Tolka, and the bridge which separates it from the town as the river flows east to the Bay of Dublin. The grounds tumble about in verdant knolls, which lent themselves to Delany's landscape gardening tastes of which much evidence remains to this day. A semicircular glen half surrounds the place at its further side, down which the rivulet glides into the Tolka, and from this is derived the name of Delville, long called *Hell* Delville, I know not why On the highest elevation of the northern bounds is the temple abovenamed, long known as Stella's Bower. It was erected by Delany, for in another versified and satirical epistle to him, Swift alludes to it: "To Fame a temple you erect." On the architrave of the pediment is the the motto, "Fastigia despicit urbis," presumably Swift's suggestion with its double meaning for "despicit" of overlook and despise, like our own phrase, "look down upon." In the basement is a sort of crypt, in which the legend goes that Swift had a printing-press and worked at it here for his anonymous libels. The temple does, indeed, command a view of the roofs and spires of the city, and far beyond these, over the plain of Dublin, a view of the beautiful chain of blue mountains that form the bounds of the county, with Wicklow and Kildare in the south; surely no despicable sight. And the high grounds close by look across the Tolka on the adjacent upland, which forms our famous Botanic Gardens, with O'Connell's column tall in the Glasnevin cemetery beyond. Cognate classic ground indeed, for in the centre of these gardens still stands "Addison's Walk," a shadowed aisle between two-and-twenty yews, an ideal saunter for a poet's ghost. Here it was "The Spectator" walked in life with Tickell, his poet friend who

occupied the place when they were respectively secretary and under-secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, after the House of Hanover came in, and here Tickell renewed his intimacy with Swift, to whom he pays the tribute: "The strictest critic and the kindest friend." The house itself of Delville is in excellent preservation; its fine inhabited hall with dining-room and drawing-room at each side, are much as in Swift and Delany's time; an ancient circular Gothic window which partly lights the dining-room is fixed in an eighteenth-century alcove, and the old walls testify to the date. Behind the main building is a range of bedrooms in a seven-windowed return, testifying still to the large-hearted hospitality of the host, which might have spared him from Swift's flouting even were his residence less large. Indeed his hospitality was frankly acknowledged by Swift himself; for in a letter to Pope long after Stella's time,[1] he says Delany is one of the few men not spoilt by access of fortune, whose hospitality and generosity left him without money as before; and elsewhere he styles him the only gentleman he knows who can maintain a regular hospitality, having seven or eight friends at dinner a week, of whom, we may be sure, the Dean was always one. The truth is, Swift, who could not bear the slightest joke when made at his own expense, could not understand how any one could take offence at his own offensiveness; as when taunting the cook-maid whom he saw scraping a leg of mutton he asked her how many maggots she had got out of it, and she replying, "Not so many as in your head," he got into a rage and complained of her insolence to her mistress. But the idiosyncracy of a genius is a mass of inconsistencies.

In his arrogance he conceived that even sneers from himself were a compliment to his victim, and that a final kindly couplet in a libel addressed to Stella on Sheridan, more than

[1] January, 1732-3.

atoned for pages of ill-natured or unmannerly impertinence, as when he concludes his satire on Delville with the handsome tribute:

> In short, in all your boasted seat,
> There 's nothing but yourself that 's great.[1]

I cannot leave these likenesses of poor Stella without recalling one lineament at least which she has left us of her

[1] In Sir Walter Scott's several editions this *jeu d'esprit* on Delville is published amongst Swift's poems, but with a footnote: "This was not Swift's, but written by Dr. Sheridan.—S." This "S" does not mean Scott, who copied it from Nichols' edition, 1808. The "S" is Thomas Sheridan, on whose pretentious book Nichols' editions are founded. He was the son of *the* Dr. Sheridan, Swift's comrade and friend. His book was published in 1784, nearly forty years after Swift's death, and his ostentation of intimacy with one whom he scarcely could have known after his own father's death in 1736, when he was a lad of sixteen, as well as his general unreliability, are severely exposed by John Forster, "Life of Swift," p. 31.

Swift and Sheridan were so long used to shuttle pasquinades at each other that it might indeed be difficult now to decide the paternity of any when a question arises between them, but the internal evidence seems strong to show Swift to be the author of "Delville." Not only is the humour essentially Swiftian—ribaldry closing in a fine compliment—but the *motif*, the belittling of his victim's home, had notably inspired Swift years before his acquaintance with Delany. In 1703 Whitehall had been partially burnt down, and Vanbrugh, poet, playwright, architect, Clarenceux herald, and man about town, set to build himself a house on the site and from the debris; and this, as he meant it to be, became the talk of the coffee houses. Swift had met him at Wills' and St. James's, and now made him his target. The first version of "Vanbrugh's House" in Swift's writing was unearthed by John Forster at Narford, amongst Sir A. Fountaine's papers. In this, jeering at the building, as the outcome of the dramatist's last farce, he writes:

> Which in due time brings forth a house,
> Just as the mountain did the mouse:
> One story high, one postern door,
> And one small chamber on a floor.

This handed round unprinted was so received as to spur Swift to repolish his shafts. In 1706 a new version was published in which the

mental portrait. In the period when the Dean was writing her birthday verses, she replied by a birthday ode to him on the 30th November, 1721, when he had just reached

sneer was expanded. Assailing Van's last farce as a failure, stolen from the French for plot and jokes, he compares with it his last work in architecture:

> The building as the poet writ
> Rose in proportion to his wit—

the brother poets ran to see the house of brother Van, sought for it vainly, till—

> At length they in the rubbish spy
> A thing resembling a goose pie—
> Thrice happy poet who may trail
> Thy house about thee like a snail,
> Or harnessed to a nag at ease,
> Take journeys in it like a chaise.
> Capacious House, 'tis owned by all,
> Thou'rt well contrived though thou art small,
> For every wit in British isle
> May lodge within thy spacious pile.

This set the wits in a roar at Vanbrugh's expense, notwithstanding their own share in his satire of the tiny abode. Vanbrugh was so far patient, but afterwards appointed architect of Blenheim by the great Duke, whose popularity was then beginning to wane, Swift, now a literary king, published his twin lampoon—"The History of Vanbrugh's House"—in 1708. The artist's model, he says, was a little girl's house of cards from which Van resolved to build

> A real house, with room and stairs,
> Five times at least as big as theirs;
> Taller than miss's by two yards,
> Not a sham thing of clay or cards.
> And so he did, for in a while
> He built up such a monstrous pile
> That no two chairmen could be found
> Able to lift it from the ground.

Concluding—

> And now the Duke has wisely ta'en him
> To be his architect at Blenheim.

fifty-four, she being then, as the ode tells us, thirty-six. It is full of a grace and a graciousness which make it more worthy than hundreds of his own witty splenetic couplets

> Or if his grace were no more skilled in
> The art of battering than of building,
> We might expect to see next year
> A mousetrap-man chief engineer.

This last was a stroke below the belt. Vanbrugh was very wrath, but the town laughed louder than before. Swift's letter to Stella, 7th November, 1710, says, "I dined to-day at Sir Richard Temple's, with Congreve, Vanbrugh, etc. Vanbrugh, I believe I told you, had a long quarrel with me about those verses on his house, but we were very civil and cold. Lady Marlborough used to tease him with them, which had made him angry though he be a good-natured fellow." And a few days after he tells her that dining with Secretary St. John, Prior, the poet, came in, talking to whom St. John said—"The best thing I ever read is not yours, but Dr. Swift's on Vanbrugh." Swift adds—"Though I do not reckon it so very good either."[1] Yet Bolingbroke's praise surely made him proud of his whim. And so in the same year, 1710, varying the theme he wrote—"The Little House by the Churchyard of Castleknock," where his friend, Archdeacon Walls, was rector. It lay on the road to his own Laracor. The archdeacon lived in Dublin, but used the cottage as "his country seat." Swift now gibes at it as really the top of the church steeple, of which at least twelve inches fell in a storm, and by gravitation kept its form on the ground. Every one is puzzled—

> A traveller who by did pass,
> Observed the roof behind the grass,
> On tiptoe stood and reared his snout,
> And saw the parson creeping out,
> Was much surprised to see a crow
> Venture to build his nest so low.

Then a schoolboy takes it for a blackbird's crib; Swift's curate thinks it was an oven to bake one loaf, or a cot for a single dove; and Stella decides it to be a still without the spout, and so on. The Wallses were then his closest intimates.

The grotesque whimsey had thus been made a patent of his own, "Delville" is only another variation, which written by Sheridan would

[1] Vol. ii of this edition, pp. 46, 51.

which are exalted by the name of Swift's poems. Its final lines are:

> Long be the day that gave you birth
> Sacred to friendship, wit and mirth;
> Late dying may you cast a shred
> Of your rich mantle o'er my head;
> To bear with dignity my sorrow—
> One day alone, then die to-morrow.

The chaste pathos, the intense though suppressed devotion, "the dignified obedience," the proud yet modest feminine self-consciousness, of the little poem through and through, indicate the current, however concealed, of the passion which was the main stream of her life, and the cause of her premature passing to her rest. They give us a glimpse of the womanly spirit and the artless enchantment which not only attracted those amongst whom she had her being, but have drawn towards her gentle shade the tender sympathy and the indignant pity of thousands and thousands of the best of those who have lived in all the years since she went to her repose in the aisle of our national Cathedral. They make one understand at least the enthusiasm of the passionate Italian who fell enamoured of his ideal of Beatrice Cenci, centuries after her tragic story had closed, and sent him as a lover to try to discover the spot where she lies in the Church of St. Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculan, raging against those who had sought to conceal it for ever in their shame for the cruelty and avarice that had consigned her to her premature doom.

have been a flagrant infringement and servile imitation, for which Swift, who, *pro more*, petted and bullied him in turns, would probably have trounced him well.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SWIFT AND STELLA

BY THE

VERY REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D., D.C.L.

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SWIFT AND STELLA

THE story of Swift and Stella has been discussed by every student of English literature, but it has never been told in full, for the reason that materials are not forthcoming for a complete narrative. Whatever his motive, Swift took care that posterity should not be informed as to his real feelings towards the charming woman who was, at any rate, his dearest friend. Was he a lover as well as a friend? Did he marry her? If he did marry her, why did he not acknowledge her as his wife? If he did not marry her, did he disappoint her hopes? To these questions we can give no certain or final answer. All that can be done now is to gather together such scraps of evidence as are still available—the opinion of his acquaintances as to the relations between the Dean and the lady whom he delighted to honour; the stories current after his death; the indications of affection and protecting friendship which his "Journal" reveals.

When Swift went to Moor Park for the first time, at the end of 1689, being then a young man of twenty-two, he found among the members of Sir William Temple's household a Mrs. Johnson, a widow, with two little daughters, Esther and Ann. Mrs. Johnson was a dependent of Lady Giffard, Sir William's sister, and the position she occupied at Moor Park was a subordinate one; but there is no shadow of evidence for the unworthy suggestion that Temple

was the father of either of her children. Indeed, so far as Esther—best known to the world as "Stella"—is concerned, her parentage is certified by the register of her baptism at Richmond on 20th March, 1680-81, in which the name of her father, "Edward Johnson," is set down. Swift has told us that he was "a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamshire," adding that Stella's mother was "of a lower degree," and that "she had little to boast of her birth." The truth is, that the story that Stella was Temple's natural child is as destitute of foundation as the absurd slander that Swift had the same father. Inasmuch as Temple was on the Continent in the diplomatic service for the two years preceding Swift's birth, it is curious that this notion should ever have gained currency.

The relations between Swift and Stella during these early years were of such intimacy as may subsist between a young man and a childish playfellow, whose lessons he directed, and for whom he had a genuine affection. "I had some share in her education, by directing what books she should read, and perpetually instructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which she never swerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen; but then grew into perfect health." There was, of course, no thought of love-making between Swift and the charming, delicate child at this period; nor for at least ten years after their first acquaintance did Swift think of a closer tie with Stella than that of friendship. Whether he ever desired it is a question to which we must return; but for the present we have to recall the fact that in these early years he was no advocate of the single life, and that he had contemplated the possibility of marriage more than once. In a letter to the Rev. John Kendall, written from Moor Park early in 1692, he repudiates the idea that he has any serious intentions with regard to a lady by whom his friend seems to have

thought him to have been attracted. He had been amusing himself, and no more. But he adds, significantly enough, that he has made up his mind not to think of marriage until his worldly fortunes were secured, implying—as it would seem—that he looked forward to marriage in the future as the natural condition of middle life. These prudent resolves, however, vanished, temporarily at any rate, when he made the acquaintance of Miss Waring at his country vicarage in 1695. His letter to "Varina" of 29th April, 1696, shows that the young lady had rejected the overtures of the poor Rector of Kilroot who imagined himself to be in love with her, and had asked her to wait for him until he was in a position to marry. "I desire nothing of your fortune; you shall live where and with whom you please till my affairs are settled to your desire." The letter is passionate enough, and it is impossible to doubt that it sincerely represented his feelings at the time. However, change of scene and the larger experience of the world, which his third residence at Moor Park brought him, were sufficient to cure him of this youthful fancy. The curious memorandum which he wrote in 1699, and entitled "When I come to be old," has the following resolutions set down: "Not to marry a young woman"; "Not to be fond of children or let them come near me hardly"; "Not to hearken to flatteries or conceive I can be loved by a young woman." It is tolerably clear that Miss Waring's refusal of his proposals, which she seems at first to have encouraged, had embittered him. Although his morbid resolutions do not suggest that he had given up all thoughts of marriage, they show that he is putting away from him the idea of marriage with a young woman, and that he is reverting to the prudent determination of former years. He had not, however, entirely broken with Varina; and on his appointment to the Vicarage of Laracor and the Prebend of Dunlavin, she seems to have written upbraiding him with

the altered tone of his letters, and suggesting that some other lady had engaged his affections. His reply is extant, and it shows Swift at his worst. The insolence and harshness of its phrases were clearly intentional. He would not go back upon his former professions of affection, but he determined to write such a letter as would ensure that Miss Waring would decline any further correspondence. It would have been more manly and generous to have told this capricious young lady that he no longer cared for her: but this he was too proud to do. Varina now passes out of his life, but Swift has shown his characteristic bad breeding in his letter of dismissal.

Some phrases in this letter (dated 4th May, 1700) are, however, important for the understanding of Swift's relations with Stella. "The other thing you would know is whether this change of style be owing to the thoughts of a new mistress. I declare, upon the word of a Christian and a gentleman, it is not; neither had I ever thoughts of being married to any other person but yourself." Now, badly as Swift behaved in this matter at the end, there is no reason to doubt that he is here speaking the truth. He was essentially a truthful man, and I cannot believe that he would have stooped to a lie to shield himself. Up to this, at any rate, he had not contemplated marriage with Stella, although she was now no longer a child, but a blooming girl of eighteen. She had grown into "one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London, only a little too fat"; and there can be no question that he was much attached to her, as she to him. But that they were more than dear friends there is no evidence, and Swift's denial to Varina that he had ever thought of marriage with anyone but herself is too clear and too emphatic to be set aside.

Sir William Temple died in 1699, and by his will bequeathed some lands at Morristown in co. Wicklow to Esther Johnson, "servant to my sister Giffard." This provided her

with an independent, if scanty, fortune; and being advised by Swift that it would go farther in Ireland, and doubtless being attracted also by the prospect of having him near her, she established herself in Dublin in the middle of the year 1701. She had as a companion a Mrs. Rebecca Dingley, then a woman of thirty-five, whose friendship and protection never failed her.

At this time Swift had rooms in Dublin, which Miss Johnson and Mrs. Dingley occupied when he was absent; but on the occasion of any of his visits to Dublin from Laracor, with that prudence and circumspection for which Stella was remarkable, the ladies betook themselves to private lodgings elsewhere. They pursued the same course at Laracor. They would stay at the Vicarage during the Vicar's absence, but never while he was at home. And so it was to the end. Stella was, in later years, a constant visitor at the Deanery, but she did not live there, even with the faithful Dingley as a duenna, while the Dean was in residence. Save during Swift's fits of illness, when he needed a nurse, and she had to be by his side, she and Mrs. Dingley had their head-quarters at their modest lodgings in Ormond Quay.

Most of the next five or six years Swift spent in London. He was there from April to October in 1702; again from November, 1703, to May, 1704; again in 1705, and in the winter of 1707-8; the residue of his time being divided between Dublin and Laracor. It was, of course, well known to his friends that his relations with Miss Johnson were, at the least, very friendly; but no word of scandal seems to have been breathed by anyone. It says much for Stella's dignity and purity of soul, that even the enemies of Swift, some of whom were unscrupulous enough, never impeached her good name.

In 1703 a new actor appears on the scene. Stella was now a beautiful and attractive young woman of twenty-two

years of age, and it was natural that suitors for her hand should present themselves. The Reverend William Tisdall, the rector of a Dublin church, formed a friendship with the two ladies at William Street, and frequent letters passed between him and Swift during the latter's stay in London, the one providing political gossip for the entertainment of his Dublin friends, and the other sending news of Stella and Mrs. Dingley. "You seem," wrote Swift (3rd February, 1704) "to be mighty proud (as you have reason, if it be true) of the part you have in the ladies' good graces, especially of her you call *the party*." The next letter which we have is dated 20th April, and it is clear that in the interval Tisdall had made proposals of marriage to Stella, the unfavourable reception of which he ascribed to Swift's influence. Swift's reply must be quoted at some length: "I might with good pretence enough talk starchly, and affect ignorance of what you would be at; but my conjecture is, that you think I obstructed your inclinations to please my own, and that my intentions were the same with yours. In answer to all which, I will, upon my conscience and honour, tell you the naked truth. First, I think I have said to you before that, if my fortunes and humour served me to think of that state, I should certainly, among all persons on earth, make your choice; because I never saw that person whose conversation I entirely valued but hers; this was the utmost I ever gave way to. And, secondly, I must assure you sincerely that this regard of mine never once entered into my head to be an impediment to you; but I judged it would, perhaps, be a clog to your rising in the world; and I did not conceive you were then rich enough to make yourself and her happy and easy. But that objection is now quite removed by what you have at present, and by the assurances of Eaton's livings." Swift adds that he had recommended Tisdall to Esther's mother (who had married again), and that the objection of his fortune being removed, he had no

other to urge. He ends by saying of Stella, "I have nowhere met with an humour, a wit, or conversation so agreeable, a better portion of good sense, or a truer judgment of men and things, I mean here in England; for as to the ladies of Ireland I am a perfect stranger."

Nevertheless, Tisdall's suit did not prosper, and he consoled himself with another lady a couple of years later; but it is evident that, rightly or wrongly, he blamed Swift for his disappointment. Tisdall does not seem to have been a very attractive person, and Stella's rejection of his suit may well have been unprompted. Her affections were preoccupied. And Swift's letter tells plainly enough that he did not intend to marry her. He was quite satisfied with the friendship which existed between them, and was not anxious for a closer bond. But he can hardly have been unaware that he was acting a selfish part, for his intimacy with Miss Johnson could not fail to create the impression, on the minds of their common friends, that he hoped to claim her one day as a wife. A letter, written by Thomas Swift in 1706, shows that gossip was already busy with their names. The writer asks, "whether Jonathan be married? or whether he has been able to resist the charms of both those gentlewomen that marched quite from Moor Park to Dublin, as they would have marched to the North or anywhere else, with full resolution to engage him?"

Early in the year 1708 Swift made an acquaintance in London which was destined to end in sorrow, and which, in truth, he ought not to have encouraged. He was introduced to Mrs. Vanhomrigh, the widow of a rich merchant, whose younger daughter, Hester—afterwards to be best known under the name of *Vanessa*—a bright girl of seventeen, was soon attracted by Swift's fascinations. In the summer of 1709 he was back in Ireland, and he spent some days at Bishop Ashe's residences—both at Clogher and Finglas—in the company of Stella and Mrs. Dingley. We

find them at Laracor with him in the spring of the next year; and then for three years, from 1710 to 1713, our knowledge of his doings in London is derived almost entirely from the remarkable "Journal" in which from day to day he set down his hopes and fears, his high ambitions and his bodily infirmities, his friendships and his enmities, that his best and dearest friend—for this at least Stella always was—might be admitted to a share in his joys and his sorrows. Never was Journal, intended for eyes other than those of the writer, more frank; never was anything written more tender and affectionate, although—scrupulous as he always was to preserve the semblance of reserve in their intercourse—the letters were addressed to the worthy Mrs. Dingley as well as to her beautiful companion. No one could say that he had written love-letters to Stella, for the letters M D may mean "my dears" in the plural, or "my dear" in the singular, at the reader's discretion. And the "little language" which it seems almost unkind to decipher was not a secret between him and Stella, for Mrs. Dingley was admitted to the tenderness of its intimacy. It is clear, however, that the frequent letters which Swift received from Dublin during the course of this correspondence were not of joint authorship but were written by Stella alone.

Careful as Swift was to guard his language, sentences appear here and there in the "Journal" which, whether he meant it or not, would naturally suggest to the woman who read them that he contemplated something more than friendship, when his affairs became prosperous.

"O faith, I should be glad to be in the same kingdom with M D. . . . But . . . to return without some mark of distinction would look extremely little; and I would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than I am. I will say no more, but beg you to be easy, till Fortune take her course, and to believe that M D's felicity is the great end I aim at in my pursuits."

Or, again: "I would make M D and M E easy; and I never desired more." These sentences are, no doubt, patient of the meaning that when Swift became richer, it would be his happiness to enable Stella and Mrs. Dingley—his best friends—to live somewhat more comfortably than they had hitherto done; but if he meant no more than this, or if he was unconscious that his words would mean more to his correspondent, he wrote with curious and unwonted carelessness.

I have called the "Journal" "frank," and so it is, in truth, in regard to many things which are best kept to oneself; but it is not frank in regard to one at least of his friendships, that with Hester Vanhomrigh, which grew to intimacy during these three years of expectancy in London. Swift tells, indeed, of his frequent entertainment at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's house; but it is significant that her daughter Hester is only mentioned three times throughout the "Journal," and not at all during the later part of it. Certainly, Swift had no thought of marrying Vanessa; nor did she conquer his heart, as Stella had done. She was no more to him than an agreeable young friend; she flattered his vanity, and he was pleased to be the object of her admiration. But the passion with which she learnt to regard him was not returned, and he told her so, shortly before he took up his residence again in Dublin as the Dean of St. Patrick's. He dealt tenderly with the outpouring of her affection (which, however, he should have discouraged from the beginning); and in "Cadenus and Vanessa," which was written for her eye alone, he tried to show her gently but firmly how idle were her hopes. But it is significant, that nothing of all this is confided to the "Journal." He must have been conscious that Stella would not have approved of this episode in his London life—to put it plainly, he must have felt that her jealousy would be aroused. If he had never given Stella any reason to think that she was the queen of his

heart, she would have had no just ground for complaint had he bestowed his affections elsewhere, nor would there have been reason for concealing from her that he had made an intimate friend of a girl young enough to be his daughter. That Swift was to blame, for allowing Vanessa to lose her foolish heart to him, is plain enough; but he was still more blameworthy for having hidden the whole business from the woman who was, as she thought, a partner in all the secrets of his life.

This was the state of things when Swift settled down as Dean of St. Patrick's, in August, 1714 (he had been installed a year before). It was a serious embarrassment to him that Vanessa followed him to Ireland, upon her mother's death, and established herself at Celbridge, within ten miles of the Deanery. Her letters are painful reading, for the anguish of her disappointment was great; and while the Dean was careful to continue to treat her as a friend, he gave her no ground to hope for any nearer tie. For nine years she lived on at Celbridge, and then died, a broken-hearted woman, in June, 1723. The circumstances of her death are thus set forth in a contemporary letter, which was first published by the present writer in "Blackwood's Magazine" for November, 1906, and which is of sufficient importance to print here again. It is preserved among Archbishop Wake's letters relating to Ireland in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, and was written to the Archbishop by Dr. Evans, Bishop of Meath, an old enemy of Swift's, on 27th July, 1723: "I think it not improper for me to acquaint your Grace with a passage lately happened here wherein Jonathan Swift is said to be pretty much concerned. A young woman, Mrs. Van Omrig (a pretended vain wit), and ye Dean had great friendships, many letters and papers passed betwixt them (the subject of which I know nothing of); they give out there was a marriage promise between them, but this I can't affirm. However it be, she designed to give him all her

fortune, which was about £5000. In April last she discovered the D. was married to Mrs. Johnson (a nll. daughter of Sir W. Temple, a very good woman), upon which she expresses (in her illness) great indignation, making a new will and leaving all to Dr. Berkeley of this College (who never had seen her but about twice), and to one Mr. Marshall, who was charged by her (on her death bed) to print all the letters and papers which had passed between the D. and herself. 'Tis generally believed she lived without God in ye world. When Dean Price (the Minister of her Parish) offered her his services in her last minutes: she sent him word no Price no Prayers, with a scrap out of the Tale in (*sic*) the Tub . . . and so she dyed. If anything like this should have fallen to an Englishman he would have been peppered with lampoons, etc. (as ye Bishop of Ferns and others were, without the least colour on grounds most undeservedly). Ye Archbishop of Dublin and ye whole Irish posse have (I fear) prevailed with Mr. Marshall (ye lady's executor) not to print the papers, etc., as she desired, least one of their own dear joys should be trampled over by the Philistines."

This letter is important, as showing that as early as 1723 it was reported, and believed—for Bishop Evans states it as an undisputed matter of fact—that Swift had been married to Stella. We shall presently examine the evidence for the marriage more closely; but Dr. Evans's letter disposes, at any rate, of one argument against its having taken place, which has been put forward by various writers, viz., that the story of the marriage did not get about until after the death of both Swift and Stella. For example, Monck Mason says: "there is every probability that Lord Orrery [whose book was not published until 1752] was himself the first framer of this scandalous story."[1] "The first writer who mentions it," says Professor Churton Collins,[2] "is

[1] "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 297 *n.*

[2] "Jonathan Swift," p. 151.

Orrery"; and he adds, "he must have known well enough that what he asserted was contrary to current tradition." The facts, however, are all the other way. The letter of Bishop Evans does not prove, indeed, that Swift and Stella were married (he is undoubtedly wrong about Stella's parentage), but it does prove that five years before Stella's death, and twenty-two years before Swift's, it was believed that a marriage had taken place. And it is also important because it gives testimony as to circumstances connected with Vanessa's death, for which heretofore Orrery (1752), Deane Swift (who wrote in 1755), Delany (1754), and Sheridan (1784), have been reckoned the earliest authorities. Thus Deane Swift writes that, "as I have heard," Vanessa "was not convinced that Dr. Swift was married to Mrs. Johnson until about two months before her decease."[1] This is exactly in agreement with Dr. Evans, who informs us that Vanessa, who died early in June, had not heard of the marriage until April. Again, Dr. Evans is a contemporary witness to the truth of Orrery's story that, shortly before her death, Vanessa cancelled a will made in Swift's favour and made another bequeathing her fortune to Dr. Berkeley and Mr. Marshall.[2] So too, does he tell, as Delany did afterwards,[3] that Vanessa gave directions to her executors that her correspondence with Swift should be published. Sheridan has the same report to give.[4] Now, the accuracy of these writers on such points being thus remarkably corroborated, their testimony as to the story of the marriage cannot be lightly set aside, as resting on mere gossip or tradition. The significance of Dr. Evans's letter is not that it gives us new information, but that it gives us much earlier testimony—contemporary testimony—to several details in the narratives of Orrery, Sheridan, and the rest.

What, then, is the direct evidence of these writers as to

[1] "Essay on Swift," p. 264.
[2] "Remarks," p. 117.
[3] "Observations," p. 84,
[4] "Life of Swift," p. 286.

the relations of Swift and Stella? The answer is that every one of them—Orrery, who had little respect for the Dean's memory, Delany, who was his friend, Sheridan, who was the son of his friend, and Deane Swift, who was his relative—accept the report of the marriage as true.

In 1742 Orrery wrote to Deane Swift (4th December) of the melancholy condition of the Dean of St. Patrick's: "A wife could not be banished from his chamber or his unhappy hours of retirement, nor had the Dean felt a blow or wanted a companion had he been married, or in other words had Stella lived." And he says explicitly in his "Remarks" (p. 22) that Stella was "the concealed but undoubted wife of Dr. Swift," adding that the marriage ceremony was performed in 1716 by Dr. Ashe, the Bishop of Clogher, "if my informations are right." Although Stella "remained an unacknowledged wife" (p. 119), yet "I have told you the fact in the manner I have received it from several of Swift's friends and relations" (p. 26). With this statement Dr. Delany, whose "Observations" were written in reply to Lord Orrery, has no quarrel. "Your account of his marriage is, I am satisfied, true" (p. 36); and he goes on to discuss the reasons why Swift did not acknowledge it (pp. 41 ff.). Deane Swift (1755) says the same thing: "That she was married to Dr. Swift in or about the year 1716 I am thoroughly persuaded" (*op. cit.*, p. 92). And in 1766 Hawkesworth states, without any hesitation, in his notes to Swift's letters, that Stella was married in 1716 to the Dean by Bishop Ashe of Clogher.

In 1781 Dr. Johnson, in his "Lives of the Poets," tells the story again, and gives his authority: "In 1716 he was privately married to Mrs. Johnson by Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, as Dr. Madden told me, in the garden." Here Johnson has given us not only a new authority, viz., Dr. Madden—who probably got his information, as Sir H. Craik suggests,[1] from the elder Sheridan, Swift's friend—but he

[1] "Life of Swift," ii., 304.

gives us a new detail. He tells us that the marriage ceremony was performed "in the garden," *i.e.*, the garden of the Deanery at Clogher, where tradition still points to the tree under which it is said that the marriage took place.[1] Johnson's words have been misunderstood by all recent writers—so far as I know—to mean that Swift and Stella were married in the garden of the Deanery at *Dublin*. But there is no tradition of any kind, nor is there any evidence, for this. Whatever we think of the truth of the story, it is important to reduce it to its original form, viz., that the marriage took place at *Clogher* in co. Tyrone—the Cathedral town of Bishop Ashe, where both the parties had stayed with the same friend seven years before.

The evidence of the Chapter Books as to Swift's movements during the year 1716 is worth setting down, for it has been inaccurately stated by Monck Mason.[2] Swift was in Dublin up to June; during this month he was absent on a visit at Gallstown, in co. Westmeath (as appears from a letter written to Archbishop King on 17th June); he was back at his Cathedral in July, appointed a sub-dean on 28th July, and does not appear again until a Chapter meeting on 26th November. We have, however, a letter written from Trim on 3rd November, and one from Dublin on 4th October. He appointed a sub-dean a second time on 5th December, and was absent from Visitation and Chapter on 7th January, 1717, but was present at Chapter on 18th March. These dates make it highly probable that if, as reported, the secret marriage was performed at Clogher in the year 1716 (old style), it must have taken place either between 28th July and 4th October, or between 5th December and 18th March (1717). Either date would agree with what we know of Bishop Ashe's movements, for,

[1] Another tradition at Clogher has it that the garden was the garden of the Bishop's Palace.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 301.

although he was appointed Bishop of Derry in February, 1717, he was not enthroned in Derry Cathedral, and therefore did not formally leave Clogher, until June of that year.

We may now rehearse the account printed in 1784 by Sheridan, the son of the Dean's great friend, of the circumstances of the marriage, which he gives on the authority of a Mrs. Sican, a favourite of both Swift and Stella. He says that Swift asked Bishop Ashe to find out what was the cause of Stella's depression of spirits, and that she replied that she had been slandered for her affection for the Dean, and that she had hoped he would have married her. In response to this, on condition that they should live apart as heretofore, and that the matter should be kept a secret, Swift agreed, and they were married by the Bishop without witnesses in the year 1716. 31247

Finally, in 1789, Monck Berkeley, in the Introduction to his "Literary Relics," gives the same account of the matter, adding, "In 1716 they were married by the Bishop of Clogher, who himself related the story to Bishop Berkeley, by whose relict the story was communicated to me." Berkeley was at the time travelling on the Continent in the capacity of tutor to Bishop Ashe's son, and it is no way improbable that he should have been informed of so interesting an event. Monck Berkeley also quotes a letter from Mrs. Hearn, Stella's niece, which explicitly states that the attachment between the Dean and Stella "terminated in their marriage."

It is clear that the evidence of a secret marriage, which I have recapitulated once more, does not amount to demonstration. From the nature of the case, it could not do so, unless Swift or Stella or Bishop Ashe had committed some particulars of it to writing, and this would have been inconsistent with the secrecy of the matter. Stella signed her last will "Esther Johnson, *spinster*," it being part of the compact, if marriage there was, that it should never be avowed.

All that can be said is, that all of Swift's friends who wrote on the subject after his death believed it to have taken place, with the solitary exception of Dr. John Lyon, who was Swift's constant attendant and guardian during the last sad years of speechlessness and decay. But Dr. Lyon was a child of only six years of age in 1716 (the alleged year of the marriage); he did not come into any relations with the Dean until about 1734, when he was employed in a minor office in the Cathedral liberty; and he was never admitted to any intimacy of friendship. His opinion was also, as I have shown, contrary to the public report which prevailed at the time of Vanessa's death, and as to which Dr. Evans's letter above quoted furnishes testimony. It may be fully admitted that the report was one which was likely to get about, in order to account for the extraordinary friendship between the Dean and Miss Johnson, who, although not acknowledged as his wife, was wont to take the leading place as hostess at his hospitable house. The story may be untrue. But it is corroborated by several independent persons, who derived their information from distinct sources; it was currently believed during the lifetime both of the Dean and Stella, and was never publicly contradicted, and, so far as dates go, there is room for it during two periods in the alleged year 1716.

If it took place, what was its motive? And why was it never acknowledged? These are highly speculative queries, and no one can pretend to give a confident answer. It was Swift's "trade to deal in mysteries," as Bolingbroke wrote to him,[1] and he was entirely successful in concealing the truth as to this strange story, of the prevalence of which he must have been fully aware. But it is clear that if Swift and Stella were married, it was because Stella earnestly desired it. Everything points to the conclusion that Swift would have been quite content that their old relations of friendship

[1] 23rd October, 1716.

and affection should continue to the end. In 1716 he was of the same mind that he had been in when he wrote to Tisdall twelve years before. No doubt his worldly position was now established, and although he was not a rich man and probably still embarrassed by the heavy expenses of taking up his Deanery in 1713, he could afford to marry if he wished. Stella was now thirty-five years of age; his written resolve "not to marry a young woman" (see p. 87 above) had been kept. And his affection and admiration for her had deepened with the progress of the years. But, for all that, he would have preferred to remain single. His habit of saving money was growing upon him, and it is very likely that Delany and Sheridan are correct when they allege, as one of the reasons against marriage in Swift's mind, his unwillingness to increase his expenditure.[1] We may find another, and perhaps more powerful, reason in a growing disinclination to the married state. Always of a "cold temper," as he had said in one of his early letters,[2] he was far from being a healthy man. The beginnings of the dreadful illness which darkened his old age had made themselves felt; and he knew that all was not well with him. The perverse moods which are reflected in too many of his verses, especially those written in later years, indicate an unhealthy disposition. The indecencies which disfigure his writings have justly been reproved by his critics; but it is significant that while Swift is often obscene, he is never licentious. The most natural explanation, as it seems to the present writer, of these morbid imaginings is that he was constitutionally unfitted for marriage at the time when, had he been like other men, he might have been expected to take Stella as the partner of his home.

Scott tells a well-known story, on the authority of Mrs. Delany, which seems to be apposite here. "Immediately

[1] Delany, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Sheridan, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
[2] Swift to Kendall, 11th February, 1692.

subsequent to the ceremony, Swift's state of mind appears to have been dreadful. Delany (as I have learned from a friend of his relict), being pressed to give his opinion on this strange union, said, that about the time it took place, he observed Swift to be extremely gloomy and agitated, so much so that he went to Archbishop King to mention his apprehensions. On entering the library, Swift rushed out with a countenance of distraction, and passed him without speaking. He found the Archbishop in tears, and upon asking the reason, he said, 'You have just met the most unhappy man on earth; but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question.'"

Archbishop King was not in Ireland from June, 1716, to July, 1717 (and before June, 1716, Swift was on bad terms with him), so that no interview of the kind mentioned by Delany could have taken place "about the time" of the marriage, or "immediately subsequent to the ceremony." But these notes of time need not be too closely pressed, and Delany's report of his interview with the Archbishop is too circumstantial to be wholly set aside. King's agitation, and the words attributed to him, are easily explicable if it be supposed that Swift had confided to him the real reason of his desiring to lead a single life, despite the mutual affection between him and Stella.

On the other hand, Stella, it can hardly be doubted, had looked forward to a union with the man who loved her and whom she loved devotedly. That he had not claimed her hand before must have been a sore disappointment. Gossip had been busy with their names,[1] and this was intolerable to her proud and sensitive nature. Yet even this might have been endured, had it not been for the new anxiety caused by Vanessa's residence in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Swift was undoubtedly flattered by the passionate

[1] So Sheridan reports, and in truth it was inevitable. The same story is told by Monck Berkeley (*op. cit.*, p. xxxv).

attachment of this foolish young woman, and, embarrassing as he must have found it, he continued to visit her at Celbridge and direct her literary studies with all the interest of a warm friend. That Swift's action both now and for years after was cruel to both women may not be denied; but it was especially cruel to the older woman. And that Stella should have determined that at all events Swift should never marry Vanessa, is a quite intelligible resolution on her part. Even if she was never to be the acknowledged wife of the man she loved, no one else should be.

The secret marriage, if it took place—as on the whole seems likely—was evidently, as Sheridan represents it to be, a compromise between Swift's wishes and those of Stella. He was willing to give her the assurance which she desired that he would never marry anyone else, but he was inflexible in his determination that they should live apart, as heretofore, and also that their union should not be acknowledged to the world.[1] The latter condition was almost a necessary consequence of the former one, for married people cannot live separate lives without setting the tongue of scandal wagging. And so, for years, they lived as dear friends, but no more, no man daring to question the propriety of their relations or their title to the respect and esteem of their acquaintance.

Yet the secret was suspected, and it was believed that they were man and wife, although no one could prove it, for Bishop Ashe had died in 1718. And at last, in 1723, Vanessa, to whose ears the tale had come, died in her grief and vexation. That *she* believed Swift and Stella to have been married is very clear (we have the contemporary evidence of Dr. Evans to this effect), and no one in the world could have been more deeply interested in discovering the truth. No woman in her situation would have accepted unverified

[1] See Sheridan (*op. cit.*, p. 278) and Monck Berkeley (*op. cit.*, p. xxxv).

gossip on a point which touched her so nearly, for less than two years before Swift had written her that "Cadenus . . . continues to esteem and love and value you above all things and so will do to the end of his life; but at the same time entreats that you would not make yourself or him unhappy by imaginations."[1] The dramatic story which Sheridan[2] tells of the way in which she discovered the truth is so familiar that it need hardly be repeated here—how she wrote to Stella to ask her if she really were Swift's wife—how Stella replied in the affirmative and then sent Vanessa's query to the Dean—how he furiously rode to Celbridge and, flinging her own letter before her, left Vanessa for ever. This is not unlikely, in itself; and in substance, it is identical with the story told thirty years before by Orrery,[3] save that the offending letter of inquiry, according to this author, was addressed to Swift himself directly. It can hardly be doubted, whatever may be thought of some of these details, that Vanessa became convinced shortly before her unhappy death that her passion was hopeless, because Swift was a married man.

The publication of "Cadenus and Vanessa" in 1726 must have been a blow to Stella, as a perusal of its pages would disclose how much more intimate had been the friendship between the Dean and Miss Vanhomrigh, than she had supposed. But the end was drawing near, and the long months of her illness were months of agony to Swift. "There is not a greater folly," he wrote, in the bitterness of his soul, "than to contract too great and intimate a friendship, which must always leave the survivor miserable."[4] "I am determined not to go to Ireland to find her just dead, or dying." And yet the months passed by, and she still lingered. Sheridan tells a story of a painful interview during this last

[1] Swift to Vanessa, 5th July, 1721.
[2] "Life of Swift," p. 285.
[3] "Remarks," p. 115.
[4] Swift to Worrall, 15th July, 1726 (from Twickenham).

illness between Stella and Swift, which was witnessed by his father. It is to the effect that she begged the Dean at the last to give her the poor consolation of acknowledging her as his wife, now that she lay on her death-bed, and that Swift refused. If this must be believed, it tells heavily against Swift. But a much more likely version of the interview[1] is found in Delany's "Observations," which makes the offer to acknowledge the marriage proceed from the Dean, an offer which Stella rejected as coming "too late." At any rate, whatever the reason was and whether there were anything to "acknowledge" or no, the marriage of Swift and Stella remained, and remains, a secret; and Stella went down to her grave as "Esther Johnson, spinster."

"This day, being Sunday, January 28, 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night, a servant brought me a note with an account of the death of the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend that I, or perhaps any other person ever was blessed with." And so the lonely man sat down in his grief to write for posterity "something of her life and character." "Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind or more improved them by reading and conversation. . . . She had a gracefulness somewhat more than human, in every motion, word and action. Never was so happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, easiness and sincerity. There seemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank; yet people of all sorts were never more easy than in her company. . . . January 30, Tuesday. This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend. It is now nine at night; and I am removed into another apartment that I may not see the light in the church, which is just over against the window of my bedchamber."

She lies in the nave of St. Patrick's Cathedral, where

[1] See Craik's "Life of Swift," Appendix V, for a full examination of the evidence for this story.

Swift was buried beside her nearly eighteen years afterwards. And when his long struggle was ended, and his confidential documents came to be examined, one of Stella's brown tresses was discovered wrapt in a paper with the inscription "Only a woman's hair." He may have been cruel, but he was a true lover, and he loved to the end.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF JONATHAN SWIFT

COMPILED BY

W. SPENCER JACKSON

NOTE

AN attempt has been made in the following pages to describe all the editions of Swift's writings, whether separate or collected, published before the end of the eighteenth century. Editions of later date have been excluded, unless individually of particular value, as it was felt that a list, for instance, of numerous more or less abridged and expurgated editions of "Gulliver's Travels" would fill many pages of type to no good purpose.

However imperfect this catalogue may be it would have been more so but for the kind assistance of other workers in the same field. The present writer has to express his obligations to Mr. Elliot Stock for permission to make use of Dr. Stanley Lane Poole's "Notes for a Bibliography of Swift," published in *The Bibliographer* for November, 1884, to the late Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, whose untimely death has occurred as these pages were passing through the press, for particulars as to many of the editions in Trinity College Library, Dublin, to Mr. F. C. Wellstood of the Bodleian Library and to Mr. H. W. Rutherford of the University Library, Cambridge, for research in their respective collections, to the Librarians of the Forster and Dyce collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, the Guildhall Library, Sion College Library, and the Lambeth Palace Library for facilitating the examination of the scarce

editions under their charge, and last, but not least, to the staff of the British Museum Library for their ready help and untiring courtesy in providing the very large number of volumes that have been called for.

All the editions described as in London libraries have been examined for the purpose of this Bibliography by the present writer; for the Bodleian and the Trinity College libraries he has used the printed catalogues, supplemented by information from the gentlemen named above; for the Advocates' Library he has relied on the printed catalogue; in the case of the Cambridge University Library, of which there is no published catalogue, all the references have been supplied by Mr. Rutherford; and for the libraries at the Royal Irish Academy and the King's Inns, Dublin, he is entirely dependent on the Bibliography of Dr. S. L. Poole, with the exception of one or two doubtful points which have been cleared up by Mr. C. L. Falkiner.

The pitfalls for the unwary in Swift bibliography are innumerable; nearly all his writings appeared anonymously, printers obtaining manuscripts which could be rightly or wrongly attributed to him had no hesitation in issuing them, the lack of international copyright between England and Ireland allowed any thing first published in either country to be freely reprinted in the other, spurious editions were issued "for the benefit of the poor," different editions of the same work seem to defy a decision as to which was the original, *e.g.*, the First and Second Drapier Letters met with such an unexpected demand that they had to be hurriedly reprinted after the type had been distributed, the copies formerly in the possession of the late Colonel Grant and those in the British Museum differing in almost every line,

while it is impossible to decide which is the earlier issue. Under these circumstances, where complete success is not to be expected, the present attempt has been put forth, and the writer will be glad if his efforts should be the means of eliciting authentic information on any doubtful point.

W. S. J.

THE FOLLOWING LIBRARIES ARE REFERRED TO:

Abp. Marsh. Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin.
Advoc. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
B.M. British Museum.
Bodl. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Dyce. Dyce Collection, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.
Forst. Forster Collection, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.
G'hall. Guildhall Library, London.
K.I. King's Inns, Dublin.
Lambeth. Lambeth Palace Library.
R.I.A. Royal Irish Academy.
Sion Coll. Sion College, London.
T.C.D. Trinity College, Dublin.
U.L.C. University Library, Cambridge.

References marked with an asterisk (*) are taken from *The Bibliographer* for November, 1884.

Volume and page are given for every piece included in the present edition of Swift's Prose Works, and references to the Aldine edition for the poems.

When the numerals referring to the preliminary pages of a book or pamphlet are enclosed in brackets it is intended to indicate that these pages are not numbered.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF JONATHAN SWIFT

1700

Letters Written by Sir W. Temple, Bar^t. and other Ministers of State, . . . In Two Volumes. . . . Published by Jonathan Swift Domestick Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of Berkeley, . . . London: Printed for J. Tonson, . . . MD CC.

8vo, front., title, 4 leaves, pp. 520; 2 leaves, pp. 360. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., T.C.D.

The Dedication to William III and Publisher's Epistle to the Reader in vol. i are by Swift. [i. 211

There is a third volume: Letters to the King, the Prince of Orange, . . . Being the Third and Last Volume. Published by Jonathan Swift, D.D. London: Printed for Tim. Goodwin, . . . 1703.

8vo, 4 leaves, pp. 550. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D.

The Preface is by Swift. [i. 220

These prefaces are reprinted in vol. ix of the quarto edition of Swift (1775).

1701

Miscellanea. The Third Part . . . By the late Sir William Temple, Bar. Published by Jonathan Swift, A.M. . . . London, Printed for Benjamin Tooke, at the Middle-Temple Gate in Fleet-street. 1701.

8vo, 4 leaves, pp. 368. B.M., T.C.D.

The Publisher to the Reader is by Swift. [i. 218

This introduction is reprinted in vol. ix of the quarto edition of Swift (1775).

A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome. . . . London: Printed for John Nutt near Stationers-Hall. 1701. [i. 227

4to, pp. 62. B.M., G'hall., U.L.C.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.

This pamphlet has been republished as "The Balance of Power in the State. A Discourse by Dean Swift." Reprinted by Vacher & Sons, Westminster. 1886. B.M., Bodl.

A French translation was published in 1733.

1704

A Tale of a Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. . . . To which is added, An Account of a Battel between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library. . . . London: Printed for John Nutt, near Stationers-Hall. MDCCIV. [i. 1

8vo, pp. [x], 322. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D.

The Second Edition Corrected. Same collation.

B.M., T.C.D., U.L.C., Forst., Dyce.

The U.L.C. copy has the title-pages of the "Battel" and the "Discourse" dated MDCCV.

Third Edition, 1704.

B.M., Advoc.

Fourth Edition, 1705.

8vo, pp. [xii], 322. Forst., Bodl.

Fifth Edition, 1710.

Forst., Bodl.

This edition is the first in which "An Apology For the, &c.," dated June 3, 1709, appeared.

Another edition, 1711.

B.M., R.I.A.*

Apparently pirated. 12mo, pp. 310. No place or printer's name.

Another edition, forming the first part of "Miscellaneous Works," 1720 (*q.v.*), contains "The History of Martin."

Sixth Edition, 1724.

B.M.

Seventh Edition, 1727.

B.M., Dyce.

Another edition, 1734.

B.M.

Apparently pirated. 8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 292, London, no printer's name. "The History of Martin" is in the "Table" at the end of this edition, and "The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit" is printed before "The Battel of the Books" instead of following it.

Tenth Edition, 1743.

Advoc.

Eleventh Edition, 1747.

B.M., Forst.

This forms vol. xii of "Miscellanies." (See under 1742-1746.)

Another edition, 1760.

B.M.

Another edition, 1781.

Forst.

Dublin editions:

A Tale of a Tub: Written . . . St. James's Library. . . . The Fourth Edition Corrected. Dublin, Re-printed; and are to be Sold only at Dick's and Lloyd's Coffee-Houses, and at the Printing-Press in Fishamble-street. 1705.

8vo, pp. [viii], 182. B.M.

Eighth Edition, 1741.

B.M.

Another edition, 1772.

B.M., Forst.

This forms vol. xx of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works.

A French translation of a portion of "A Tale of a Tub" was published under the title of "Les Trois Justaucorps, Conte Bleu, Tiré de l'Anglois du Révérend Mr. Jonathan Swif, [*sic*] . . . A Dublin. M.DCC.XXI."

8vo, pp. 79. B.M.

Translations into German (1729), French (1732), and Dutch (1735) were published.

A Full and True Account of the Battel Fought last Friday Between the Antient and the Modern Books in St. James's Library. London: Printed in the Year, MDCCIV. [i. 155

This formed pp. 223-278 of the first edition of "A Tale of a Tub."

A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. In a Letter To a Friend. A Fragment. London: Printed in the Year, MDCCIV. [i. 189

This formed pp. 279-322 of the first edition of "A Tale of a Tub."

1708

Predictions for the Year 1708. Wherein the Month and Day of the Month are set down, the Persons named, and the great Actions and Events of next Year particularly related, as they will come to pass. Written to prevent the People of England from being further impos'd on by vulgar Almanack-makers. By Isaac Bickerstaff Esq; Sold by John Morphew near Stationers-Hall. MDCCVIII. [i. 299

8vo, pp. 8. Sion Coll., Lambeth, Bodl., U.L.C., Advoc.

Another edition: Predictions for the Year 1708. Wherein the Month and Day of the Month are set down, the Per-

sons named, and the great Actions and Events of next Year particulary [*sic*] related, as they will come to pass. Written to prevent People from being further Impos'd on by vulgar Almanack Makers. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;

4to, pp. 8. No title-page or printer's name. B.M.

Another edition: Esquire Bickerstaff's Most strange and wonderful Predictions For the Year 1708. . . . London, Printed for T. Wise, near Fleet-street.

8vo, pp. 8. No date. G'hall.

Another edition: Esquire Bickerstaff's Most Strange and Wonderful Predictions For the Year 1708. . . . Printed by W. B. 1708.

8vo, pp. 8. No place. Forst.

Another edition: Esquire Bickerstaff's Most strange and wonderful Predictions For the Year, 1708. . . . Licensed according to Order. Sold by John Stiles: 1708.

8vo, pp. 8. No place. Bodl.

Another edition: Predictions for the Year, 1708. . . . London Printed. and Reprinted and Sold at the Union Coffee-House on Cork-Hill. [Dublin.]

4to, pp. 4. T.C.D.

A German and a Dutch translation were published in the same year. Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.

An Elegy on Mr. Patrige, the Almanack-maker, who Died on the 29th of this Instant March, 1708. London: Printed in the Year 1708. [Ald. i. 87

Broadside. B.M.

Another edition: An Elegy On Mr. Patrige, the Almanack-Maker, who Died on the 29th of March last, 1708. Edinburgh Re-printed in the Year 1708.

Broadside. B.M., Advoc.

Begins: "Well, 'tis as Bickerstaff has guest."

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711, as "A Grubstreet Elegy On the supposed Death of Patrige the Almanack Maker."

Jack Frenchman's Lamentation, An Excellent New Song. To the Tune of, I'll tell the Dick, &c. [1708?].

[Ald. iii. 5

Broadside, with woodcut. No date, place, or printer's name. Contains 14 verses. B.M.

Another edition [Edinburgh?].

No date, place, or printer's name. Contains 13 verses—verse 7 being omitted. B.M.

Another edition: Jack Frenchman's Defeat: Being an Excellent New Song, to a Pleasant Tune, . . .

Printed on a half-sheet, with woodcut. B.L. No date, place, or printer's name. Contains 14 verses. B.M.

Begins: "Ye Commons and Peers."

1709

A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq; against What is Objected to Him by Mr. Partridge, in his Almanack for the present Year 1709. By the said Isaac Bickerstaff Esq; London: Printed in the Year MDCCIX. [April 12, 1709.]

[i. 317

8vo, pp. 8. No printer's name. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.

A Famous Prediction of Merlin, the British Wizard. . . . By T. N. London; reprinted at Edinburgh. 1709.

[i. 325

Printed on a half-sheet. Advoc.

Title taken from Advocates' Library Catalogue.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," 1711.

Another edition: Dean Swift's True, Genuine, and Authentic Copy Of that most Strange, Wonderful, and Surprizing Prophecy Written by Saint Patrick, . . . The Second Edition. . . . Dublin printed, by W. Faulkener. Reprinted at London, by E. Curll, at Pope's Head, in Rose-Street, Covent-Garden, 1740. Price 6*d*.

8vo, pp. 8, 22. B.M.

A Project for the Advancement of Religion, and the Reformation of Manners. By a Person of Quality. . . . London: Printed for Benj. Tooke, at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet-street. M.DCC.IX. [iii. 21

8vo, pp. 62. G'hall.

Another edition: London: Printed and Sold by H. Hills, in Black-fryars, near the Water-side. For the Benefit of the Poor. 1709.

8vo, pp. 24. B.M.

Another edition: Edinburgh. Reprinted by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queens most Excellent Majesty. Anno Dom. 1709.

8vo, pp. 39. U.L.C.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.
See also, "A Modest Address" (1745) in List of Doubtful Works.

A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England, Concerning the Sacramental Test. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1709. [iv. 1

Dated "Dublin December the 4th 1708."
4to, pp. 28. B.M.,[1] U.L.C.

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[1] This copy has been discovered since volume iv of this edition was printed. Reference is made in the "Advertisement" printed on p. 5, and in note 1 on pp. 5-6 to "about a page" which Morphew omitted and the editor of volume iv could not identify. The following are the passages omitted:

P. 9, at end of paragraph: [or such as employ him,] who ought not to have forgot that in the late persecution of Forbes for reflecting on K. William, the Archbishop did so distinguish himself, that the City gave him their public thanks.

P. 14, the first paragraph should continue: Now, because that gentleman is ambitious to be thought one of our patriots, I can put him upon a much better way of serving his country, which is to take some course that himself and his *whole worthy family* may be *hanged* tomorrow morning; and if this had been done (How long is it since my

Another edition: "Re-printed in Dublin, and Sold by the Booksellers. Price One Penny."

4to, pp. 8. B.M., T.C.D.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.

Lord Capel's government?) about fifteen years ago, our miserable *betrayed* kingdom had been some millions the better.

P. 15, line 6 from bottom, after "Test;" add: "I never heard of above one or two at most whom there was the least ground to suspect,".

P. 16, line 27, add these paragraphs:

You indeed hint something to me about two divines of this kingdom now in London, which seems to differ from what I said of the rest. I have not the honour to be acquainted with either, and I think they have not been much among us; but by what I have heard of them, I do not believe they are one degree greater Whigs than five hundred of their brethren, and I have heard that one of them (who is, they say, made chief chaplain to our new Governor) has always declared against repealing the Test; he is reckoned a worthy person, and I know not how it can be consistent with that character to employ his pen either in a public or private manner against his opinion, neither do I think he designs it. As for the other divine, we all expected here that he was to be the person his Excellency would bring over his chaplain: But since that hath otherwise happened, it may not be altogether improbable that his great friends have dropped him, which disappointment, if he be a right c—r—r may chance to cool his zeal that way, if he had any before, of which I cannot accuse him. However that be, he will find it a difficult matter, with his skill in politics, or talent at ridicule, backed by all the wit he is said to be master of, to reason or laugh us out of the Sacramental Test; and will find by the event that my Predictions are truer than his.

But if I am mistaken in my sentiments of those two divines, there is a third now among you, of as much consideration as either, and as good a Whig in all the necessary fundamentals, from whose opinion you may form a truer judgement of his brethren here; and I dare engage he will not be reserved in owning them, and besides he has reason to know as much of our House of Commons as any of its Members, his office giving him free access there at all times.

P. 22, after the last paragraph, add:

For the other part of your letter I can only tell you, that I have obeyed your commands as far as it was in my power, and I hope well enough to encourage you to honour me with more.

Baucis and Philemon, Imitated from Ovid. Printed An. Dom. M DCC IX. Price Two-Pence. [Oxford?]

[Ald. i. 81

4to, pp. 8. No place or printer's name. B.M., Bodl.
Begins: "In ancient Times, as Story tells."
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.

The Tatler. By Isaac Bickerstaff Esq;

[Swift's contributions are in vol. ix, pp. 1-66.

Nos. 1 to 4 were "London: Printed for the Author, 1709." From No. 5 they were "Sold by John Morphew near Stationers-Hall." B.M.

Memoirs. Part III. From the Peace concluded 1679. To the Time of the Author's Retirement from Publick Business. By Sir William Temple Baronet. . . . Publish'd by Jonathan Swift, D.D. London: Printed for Benjamin Tooke, at the Middle-Temple Gate in Fleet-street. MDCCIX.

8vo, title, pp. xiv, 173, 43. Forst., U.L.C.
The Preface is by Swift. [i. 222

Another edition: London: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1709.

8vo, pp. 47 (small print). Sion Coll., G'hall., U.L.C.
French translation published in 1729. U.L.C.

Baucis and Philemon; A Poem On the ever lamented Loss Of the two Yew-Trees, . . . Together with Mrs. Harris's Earnest Petition. By the Author of the Tale of a Tub. . . . London: Printed and Sold by H. Hills, in Blackfryars, near the Water-side. 1709.

8vo, pp. 16. Bodl.

Another edition: Baucis and Philemon: A Poem On the Ever-lamented Loss of the Two Yew-Trees, . . . Together with Mrs. Harris's Earnest Petition: And an Admirable Recipe. By the Author of The Tale of a

Tub. . . . London: Printed, and Sold by H. Hills, in Black-Fryars, near the Water-side, 1710.

8vo, pp. 16. Forster, Bodl.

1710

A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick, and Somewhat Beside; of The Same Author's . . . London: Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street; and sold by J. Harding, at the Post-Office in St. Martins-Lane. 1710. (Price 6*d.*) [i. 331

8vo, pp. 29. B.M., Forst., Bodl., G'hall.

Another edition, E. Curll, 1710, price *2d.*

8vo, pp. 16. Forst. (imperfect).
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.

The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod. London, Printed: for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, MDCCX. [Ald. iii. 10

Printed on a half-sheet. B.M.
Begins: "The Rod was but a harmless Wand."
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1711.

The Examiner. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1710.

[Swift's contributions are in vol. ix, pp. 67-299.

The first three weekly numbers had the longer title: "The Examiner. Or, Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences." B.M., Bodl.

Nos. 1 to 52 were reprinted weekly in Dublin, in 4to, without the advertisements: "Dublin: Printed by C. Carter at the Old Post-Office in Fish-shamble-street, 1710" [or 1711]. B.M.

The Examiners for the Year 1711. To which is prefix'd, A Letter to the *Examiner*. . . . London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall; and A. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple-Bar. 1712.

12mo, pp. xvi, 306, and 12 pages of Index. B.M.

This volume contains fifty numbers of *The Examiner*, from Aug. 3, 1710, to July 26, 1711, Nos. 13 and 49 being omitted.

1711

A Short Character of His Ex. T. E. of W[harton]. L.L. of I——. With An Account of some smaller Facts, . . . London: Printed for William Coryton, Bookseller, at the Black-Swan on Ludgate-hill. 1711. [v. 1

8vo, pp. 29. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D., U.L.C.

Another edition in the same size has "Price 4*d*" added at the foot of the title-page.

B.M., U.L.C., G'hall.

A smaller edition was issued by Coryton in the same year without title-page.

Pp. 24. B.M., T.C.D.

Another edition: A Short Character Of the Late M——s of W——n. Together with An Account of some Smaller Facts, . . . By The Author of the Tale of a Tub. London: Printed, and Sold by A. Dodd without Temple-bar, and E. Smith at the Royal-Exchange, and most Booksellers of London and Westminster. Price 4*d*. [1715?]

8vo, title, pp. 20; no date. B.M., Bodl.

Another edition: A Short Character . . . London: Printed for John More, near St. Paul's Church-yard; and Sold by most Booksellers in London and Westminster. Pr. 4*d*.

8vo, title, pp. 20; no date. Bodl.

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. MDCCXI.

Advertised as "This Day" in *The Examiner*, March 1, 1710-11.
8vo, 7 leaves, pp. 416. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., T.C.D., Advoc.

The Second Edition, MDCCXIII.

8vo, 7 leaves, pp. 414. B.M., Forst.
Contains "Contests and Dissentions," 1701; "Sentiments of a Church of England Man," 1708; "Argument . . . Abolishing of

Christianity," 1708; "Project for the Advancement of Religion," 1709; "Meditation upon a Broom-Stick," Aug. 1704; "Various Thoughts," Oct. 11, 1706; "Tritical Essay," Aug. 6, 1707; "Predictions for the Year 1708;" "Accomplishment of the First of Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions," 1708; "Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff," 1709; "Famous Prediction of Merlin," 1709; "Letter from a Member . . . Sacramental Test," 1708; "Verses Wrote in a Lady's Ivory Table Book," 1698; "Humble Petition of Frances Harris," 1700; and eleven other poems.

The following are the full titles of the tracts included in "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," 1711, of which no earlier separate publication has been found:

The Sentiments of a Church of England-Man With Respect to Religion and Government. Written in the Year, 1708. [iii. 49

An Argument To prove that the Abolishing of Christianity in England, May as things now stand, be attended with some Inconveniencies, . . . Written in the Year, 1708. [iii. 1

There is an edition "Printed for Timothy Atkins, 1717." B.M.
See also "A Modest Address" (1745) in List of Doubtful Works.

Thoughts on Various Subjects, Moral and Diverting. [i. 271

See Miscellanies (Morphew), 1711, pp. 235-45; Miscellanies (1727), i. 388-408, ii. 338-58; Works, Vol. I (Faulkner), pp. 297-310; and Vol. VIII (Faulkner), pp. 285-93; and Works, Vol. II, i, 222-31 (1755), Vol. VI, ii, 178-84 (1755) (Hawkesworth).

A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind. August the 6th, 1707. [i. 289

The Accomplishment Of the First of Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions. Being an Account Of the Death of Mr. Partrige, the Almanack-maker. Upon the 29th instant. In a Letter to a Person of Honour. Written in the Year, 1708. [i. 311

Miscellanies by Dr. Jonathan Swift. viz. I. A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick. . . . II. Baucis and Philemon. . . . III. To their Excellencies. . . . The Humble Petition of Frances Harris. . . . IV. To Mrs. Biddy Floyd. V. The History of Vanbrugh's House. To all which is prefix'd, A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub. London, Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1711. (Price 1*s.*)

8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 36, 30. B.M., T.C.D.

The Spectator. . . . London: Printed for Sam Buckley, at the Dolphin in Little-Britain; . . . [No. 50 was dated April 27, 1711.]

[Swift's contributions are in vol. ix, pp. 301-7.

B.M.

Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet, entitl'd, [A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, appointed to Examine Gregg.] By the Author of the Examiner. London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1711. (Price 3*d.*) [v. 29

8vo, pp. 24. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., K.I.*, Advoc., G'hall.

A New Journey to Paris: Together with some Secret Transactions Between the Fr—h K—g, and an Eng— Gentleman. By the Sieur du Baudrier. Translated from the French. London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1711. (Price 2*d.*) [v. 187

8vo, pp. 16. B.M., U.L.C.

The Second Edition Corrected, 1711.

Advoc., G'hall.

Third Edition, 1711.

B.M.

A Learned Comment upon Dr. Hare's Excellent Sermon Preach'd before the D. of Marlborough, On the Surrender

of Bouchain. By an Enemy to Peace. . . . London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1711. (Price 2*d.*) [v. 169

8vo, pp. 16. B.M., Advoc.

Second Edition, 1711.

The Conduct of the Allies, and of the Late Ministry, in Beginning and Carrying on the Present War. . . . London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1712 [*sic.*] [v. 55

8vo, pp. 96. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., Advoc.

The Second Edition, Corrected. 1711.

B.M., T.C.D., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.

Third Edition, 1711.

T.C.D., Bodl.

Fourth Edition, 1711.

B.M., G'hall.

Fifth Edition, 1711.

Pp. 48. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., Forst., G'hall.

Sixth Edition, 1712.

B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

Seventh Edition, 1712.

B.M., Bodl.

Another edition: Dublin, Re-Printed for John Hyde Bookseller in Dames-street. 1712.

8vo, pp. 72. Forst., T.C.D., U.L.C.

Fourth Edition, 1712.

T.C.D.

Fifth Edition, Corrected. Reprinted by Edward Waters, 1712.

8vo, pp. 54, U.L.C.

Another edition: Edinburgh, 1712.

Advoc., U.L.C.
Translations into French and Spanish were published in 1712.

An Excellent New Song. Being the Intended Speech of a famous Orator against Peace. [Ald. iii. 30

Printed on a half sheet. No place, date, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "An Orator dismal of Nottinghamshire."

The W—ds—r Prophecy. Printed in the Year, 1711. [Ald. iii. 34

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
N.B.—There are two editions in the B.M. in different type.
Begins: "When a holy black Suede, the Son of Bob."

1712

Some Advice Humbly Offer'd to the Members of the October Club, in a Letter from a Person of Honour. London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1712. Price 2*d.* [v. 207

8vo, pp. 16. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., Advoc.

Second Edition, 1712.

The Fable of Midas. Printed in the Year, 1711 [*i.e.* 1711-12.]. [Ald. iii. 37

Printed on a half-sheet. No place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Midas, we are in Story told."

Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, between Her Majesty and the States-General. By the Author of The Conduct

of the Allies. . . . London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1712. Price 6*d*. [v. 125

8vo, pp. 48. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., T.C.D., Advoc., G'hall.

The Second Edition, 1712.

Forst., Bodl., Advoc.

Dublin reprint, 1712.

T.C.D., K.I.*
A Spanish translation was published in 1712.

A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue; in a Letter To the Most Honourable Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain. London: Printed for Benj. Tooke, at the Middle-Temple-Gate, Fleetstreet. 1712. [The half-title is "Dr. Swift's Letter to the Lord High Treasurer."] [xi. 1

8vo, pp. 48. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., Advoc.

Second Edition, 1712.

B.M., U.L.C., G'hall.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies" (1727), vol. i.

Some Reasons to Prove, That no Person is obliged by his Principles, as a Whig, To Oppose Her Majesty or her Present Ministry. In a Letter to a Whig-Lord. London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1712. Price 3*d*. [v. 237

8vo, pp. 24. B.M.

T[o]l[a]nd's Invitation to Dismal, to Dine with the Calves-Head Club. Imitated from Horace, Epist. 5, Lib. 1. [1712.] [Ald. iii. 41

Broadside, no place or printer's name. Dated "January 29." B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

Another edition, Reprinted at Edinburgh, 1711 [?].

Advoc.

Begins: "If, dearest Dismal, you for once can Dine."

Peace and Dunkirk;[1] Being an Excellent New Song upon the Surrender of Dunkirk to General Hill. London, Printed in the Year, 1712. [Ald. iii. 43

Broadside. B.M.

Begins: "Spight of Dutch friends and English foes."

A Letter from the Pretender, To a Whig-Lord. [v. 257

Broadside, no place or printer's name. Lambeth.

Remarks on the Bp. of S. Asaph's Preface. [In *The Examiner*, vol. ii, No. 34, July 24, 1712.] [v. 269

A Letter of Thanks from my Lord W****n to the Lord B^p^ of S. Asaph, In the Name of the Kit-Cat-Club. Reprinted in the Year 1712. [v. 259

8vo, pp. 13; no place or printer's name. B.M., Advoc.

1713

An Appendix to the Conduct of the Allies; and Remarks on the Barrier Treaty. [In *The Examiner*, vol. iii, No. 16, Jan. 16, 1712-13.] [v. 164

[1] The following "Grub Street papers," mentioned by Swift in his letter to Stella, July 17, 1712 (vol. ii, p. 377, of this edition), and advertised in *The Examiner* of the same date, may be mentioned in this place, although no copy of either of them has been found:

Dunkirk still in the Hands of the French, being a plain and true Discovery of a most notorious Falshood, invented by Jacobites and Tories, that the Town of Dunkirk was lately delivered to the English. Pr. 1*d.*

A Hue and cry after Dismal; being a full and true Account, how a Whig L—d was taken at Dunkirk, in the Habit of a Chimney-sweeper, and carryed before General Hill. Pr. 1*d.*

Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall.

Mr. C[olli]ns's Discourse of Free-Thinking, Put into plain English, by way of Abstract, for the Use of the Poor. By a Friend of the Author. London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1713. Price 4*d*. [iii. 163

8vo, pp. 31. Bodl., T.C.D., Advoc.

A Complete Refutation of the Falsehoods alleged against Erasmus Lewis, Esq. [In *The Examiner*, vol. iii, No. 21, Feb. 2, 1712-13.] [v. 227

The Address of the House of Lords to the Queen. April 9th, 1713. [v. 273

The Queen opened Parliament on April 9th; the Address was agreed to by the Lords on the 10th and presented to Her Majesty on the 11th. It is printed in the Journals of the House of Lords on April 10th.

Part of the Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace imitated: and Address'd to a Noble Peer. London: Printed for A. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple-Bar. 1713. Price 3*d*. [Ald. iii. 44

4to, pp. 12. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., Advoc., K.I.*

Second Edition, 1713.

B.M., Sion Coll.

Third Edition, 1713.

Another edition, slightly altered: The Seventh Epistle Of the first Book of Horace Imitated. And Address'd to a Noble Lord. Dublin: Reprinted for John Henly, Bookseller in Castle-sttreet, [*sic.*] 1713.

4to, pp. 4. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D.
Begins: "Harley, the Nation's great Support."

The Importance of the Guardian Considered, in a Second Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge. By a Friend of

Mr. St—le. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. 1713. Price 6*d*. [v. 275

8vo, pp. 46. B.M., Bodl.

A Preface to the B—p of S—r—m's Introduction To the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England. By Gregory Misosarum. . . . London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. 1713. Price 6*d*. [iii. 125

8vo, pp. 56. B.M., Bodl., Advoc., Forst.

Second Edition, 1713.

Bodl., U.L.C.

Another edition: Dublin, Printed by D. Tompson for John Henly at the Black-Moor's Head, in Castle-Street, 1714.

8vo, pp. 46. B.M.

The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphras'd: and Address'd to Richard St—le, Esq; . . . London: Printed for A. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple-Bar. 1713. Price 3*d*. [Ald. iii. 61

4to, pp. 11. Bodl.

Another edition, 1714.

B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

Another edition, Dublin, 1714.

T.C.D.

Begins: "Dick, thour't resolv'd, as I am told."

1714

The Publick Spirit of the Whigs: Set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author of the Crisis: with some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candor, Erudition,

and Style of that Treatise. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. MDCCXIV. Price One Shilling. [v. 309

4to, title, pp. 45. B.M., Forst.
There was a second issue of the first edition, omitting the passage objected to by the Scots Lords. Forst.

The Second Edition, 1714.

4to, title, pp. 45. Bodl., Advoc., U.L.C., Lambeth.
Sheets D and E were reprinted, omitting the passage objected to by the Scots Lords. Sig. D was made to consist of pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 23 (six pages only), and sig. E of pp. 24 and 26 to 32; the matter retained was made to fill 14 pages by setting 21 to 28 in a narrower measure. The B.M. and one Forster copy of the first edition, and the Bodleian and Cambridge copies of the second edition have the pamphlet in the full form, while the other Forster copy of the first edition and the Lambeth copy of the second edition are censored.

The Third Edition, 1714.

4to, title, pp. 45, no pages numbered 22 or 25. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

The Fourth Edition, 1714. 8vo.

T.C.D.

Another edition: The Publick Spirit . . . Crisis. According to the First Original Copy. London: Printed for T. Cole, MDCCXIV.

8vo, pp. 39. B.M., Bodl.
This edition contains the suppressed passage.

Another edition: Dublin: Printed for J. Henly, Bookseller in Castle-street, 1714. Third edition.

8vo, pp. 38. Forst, T.C.D.
This contains the suppressed passage.

A French translation: "L'Esprit des Whigs," was published in 1715 [?] at Amsterdam [?].

8vo, pp. 106. This contains the suppressed passage and also "Lettre à l'Auteur de l'Anglois." The B.M. copy has no title-page.

John Dennis, the Sheltring Poet's Invitation to Richard Steele, The Secluded Party-Writer, and Member; To come and live with him in the Mint. In Imitation of Horace's Fifth Epistle, Lib. 1. And fit to be Bound up with the Crisis. London. Printed for John Morphew near Stationers-Hall. 1714. (Price Three-pence.) [Ald. iii. 66

4to, pp. 12. B.M.
Begins: "If thou can'st lay aside a Spendthrift's Air."

1718.

Letters, Poems, and Tales: Amorous, Satyrical, and Gallant. Which passed between Several Persons of Distinction. . . . London: Printed for E. Curll in Fleetstreet. 1718. [Price Two Shillings.]

8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 92, 19. B.M.
Contains "A Decree for Concluding the Treaty between Dr. Swift and Mrs. Long." [xi. 383

1720.

The Works of Sir William Temple, Bar^t. In Two Volumes. . . . London: Printed for A. Churchill, . . . MDCCXX.

Folio, Front., 5 leaves, pp. 480; 4 leaves, pp. 585. B.M., Forst.
The Publisher to the Reader—prefixed to "Miscellanea. The Third Part"—and the Preface to "Memoirs. The Third Part" in vol. i are by Swift. Vol. ii contains the Dedication and the Publisher's Epistle, reprinted from Temple's "Letters," 2 vols., 1700, and the Preface to "Letters to the King," etc., 1703.

1731. 2 vols., folio. B.M.
1750. 2 vols., folio. B.M.
1754. 4 vols., 8vo. B.M.
1757. 4 vols., 8vo. B.M.
1770. 4 vols., 8vo. B.M.

An Elegy On the much lamented Death of Mr. Demar, the Famous rich Man, who died the 6th of this Inst. July, 1720. [Ald. i. 120

Broadside. No place or printer's name. B.M.
Reprinted in "A Defence of English Commodities," 1720.
Begins: "Know all Men by these Presents, Death the Tamer."

A Proposal For the universal Use Of Irish Manufacture, in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. Utterly Rejecting and Renouncing Every Thing wearable that comes from England. Dublin: Printed and Sold by E. Waters, in Essex-street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1720. [vii. 11

8vo, pp. 15. B.M., R.I.A.*, Forst.

The Right of Precedence between Phisicians and Civilians Enquir'd into. . . . Dublin: Printed for John Hyde in Dame's-Street, and Robert Owen in Skinner-Row. 1720. [xi. 23

8vo, pp. 30. Forst., T.C.D.

Another edition: The Right of Precedence between Physicians and Civilians Enquir'd into. . . . Dublin: Printed: And Reprinted at London, for J. Roberts near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick Lane. MDCCXX. [Price Six-Pence.]

This edition does not bear the author's name, nor does it contain the letter quoted in the note, vol. xi, p. 24.
8vo, pp. 30. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

Another edition: The Right of Precedence between Physicians and Civilians Enquir'd into. . . . Written by Dr. Swift. Printed at Dublin in the Year 1720; and Reprinted at London for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane.

This edition contains the letter.
8vo, pp. 32. G'hall.

Also: The Right . . . into . . . Written by Dr. Swift. The Second Edition. Printed at Dublin in the Year 1720; and Reprinted . . . Lane.

8vo, pp. 32. B.M., Bodl.

There are copies in K.I.* and R.I.A.*, but without examination it is impossible to say which issue.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1722.

A German translation was published in 1738.

The Swearer's-Bank: or, Parliamentary Security for Establishing a new Bank in Ireland. Wherein The Medicinal Use of Oaths is considered. (With The Best in Christendom. A Tale.) Written by Dean Swift. . . . To which is prefixed, An Essay upon English Bubbles. By Thomas Hope, Esq; Dublin: Printed by Thomas Hume, next Door to the Walsh's-Head in Smock-Alley. 1720. Reprinted at London by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane.

[vii. 37, 31

8vo, pp. viii, 19. B.M., U.L.C.

The Dublin edition, 1720, is in R.I.A.*

Third Edition, Dublin, 1721.

Bodl.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1722.

A German translation was published in 1738.

Miscellaneous Works, Comical & Diverting: by T. R. D. J. S. D. O. P. I. I. In two parts. I. The Tale of a Tub; . . . II. Miscellanies in Prose & Verse. . . . London, Printed by Order of the Society *de propagando*, *&c.* M. DCC. XX.

8vo, pp. xvi, 416. No printer's name. B.M., Bodl.

This volume contains "The History of Martin" in the "Table" at the end of "A Tale of a Tub" (pp. 253-266). The "History" was also printed in the spurious edition of 1734, and was published separately under the following title:

The History of Martin. Giving An Account . . . With A Digression concerning . . . Wars and Quarrels. By the Rev. D—n S—t. To which is added, A Dialogue . . . London: Printed for J. Temple, near St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet—[The remainder cut off in binding—qy. 1735 or 1742.] [i. 145

8vo, pp. 24 ("The History of Martin" is only 8 pages). B.M.

1721

A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately enter'd into Holy Orders. By a Person of Quality.

☞ It is certainly known, that the following Treatise was writ in Ireland by the Reverend Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's in that Kingdom. London: Printed for J. Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXI. Price 6*d*. [iii. 195

8vo, pp. 31. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

Second edition, 1721.

Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1721, as "A Letter from a Lay-Patron to a Gentleman designing for Holy Orders."

Also in "Miscellanies. The Second Volume," 1747, as "A Letter to a Young Clergyman, &c."

A German translation was published in 1752.

A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet; Together With a Proposal for the Encouragement of Poetry in this Kingdom. . . . Dublin: Printed for J. Hyde, in Dames-street, 1721. [xi. 89

8vo, pp. 32. Forst., Bodl.

Another edition: A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet: Together With a Proposal for the Encouragement of Poetry in this Kingdom. . . . By J. Swift. Printed at Dublin, Reprinted at London, and Sold by W. Boreham

at the Angel in Pater-noster-Row. 1721. (Price Six-Pence.)

8vo, pp. 32. Dated Dec^ber 1, 1720. B.M., Forst., U.L.C., Bodl., K.I.*, Advoc.

Second edition, 1721.

Forst., U.L.C.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1722.
A German translation was published in 1738.

Epilogue, To be spoke at the Theatre-Royal This present Saturday being April the 1st. In the Behalf of the Distressed Weavers. Dublin Printed by J. W. [1721.] [Ald. i. 163

Broadside. B.M.

Another edition: An Epilogue, As it was spoke by M^r Griffith At the Theatre-Royal On Saturday the First of April. In the Behalf of the Distressed Weavers.

Printed on the *verso* of "A Prologue, Spoke by M^r Elrington," Dublin Printed by John Harding.

Printed on a half-sheet. B.M.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," 1722.
Begins: "Who dares affirm this is no pious age."

The Bubble: a Poem. London, Printed for Benj. Tooke, at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet; and Sold by J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. M.DCC.XXI. [Ald. i. 146

8vo, pp. 23. B.M., Advoc.
Faulkner, in vol. ii of his edition of Swift's Works, calls it "Upon the South-Sea Project," and says "Written in the Year 1721." In "Miscellanies. The Last Volume" (1727), it is called "The South Sea."
Begins: "Ye wise Philosophers explain."

A Letter to the K[ing] at Arms From a Reputed Esquire One of the Subscribers to the Bank Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court [vii. 47

Printed on a half-sheet. T.C.D., Abp. Marsh.

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. The Fourth Edition, with the following Additions. viz. The Seventh Epistle of the first Book of Horace, . . . A Letter from a Lay-Patron to a Gentleman designing for Holy Orders. . . . Dublin: Printed by S. Fairbrother, Book-Seller, and are to be Sold at his Shop in Skinner-Row, over against the Tholsel, 2721 [*sic*].

8vo, pp. viii, 279. B.M.

1722

Miscellanies, Written By Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. viz: I. The Art of Punning. II. The Right of Precedence. III. Advice to a Young Poet. IV. The Swearer's Bank. V. A Defence of English Commodities. VI. An Imitation of Horace. VII. Letters, Poems, Tales, &c. The Fourth Edition. London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXII. Price *2s. 6d.*

8vo, pp. xii, 15, 14, xxvii, 204. B.M., Bodl.
8vo, pp. [viii], xxvii, 204, 14. Forst., G'hall (imperfect).

The Journal. [Dublin] [Ald. i. 168

Broadside, no date, place, or printer's name. B.M., U.L.C.
Reprinted in "Miscellanea," vol. ii (Curll), 1727, with the original title, and in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," 1732, as "The Country Life."
Begins: "Thalia, tell in sober Lays."

1723

Some Arguments Against enlarging the Power of Bishops In letting of Leases. With Remarks on some Queries Lately published. . . . Dublin Printed for J. Hyde 1723. [iii. 219

8vo, 1723. T.C.D.
Reprinted in Faulkner's edition, vol. iv, 1735, and in "Miscellanies," vol. v, 1735.

1724

[Drapier Letters, No. 1.]

A Letter to the Shop-keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common-People of Ireland, Concerning the Brass Half-Pence Coined by Mr. Woods, with A Design to have them Pass in this Kingdom. . . . By M. B. Drapier. Dublin: Printed by J. Harding in Molesworth's-Court. [1724.] [vi. 1

8vo, pp. 16, no date. B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D.
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 1-19.

[Drapier Letters, No. 2.]

A Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of a Paragraph in his News-Paper of Aug. 1st, Relating to Mr. Woods's Half-Pence. By M. B. Drapier. . . . Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street. [vi. 27

8vo, pp. 16. Dated August 4, 1724. B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D., R.I.A.*
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 40-56.

[Drapier Letters, No. 3.]

Some Observations Upon a Paper, Call'd, The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy-Council in England, Relating to Wood's Half-pence. By M. B. Drapier. . . . Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble Street. [vi. 55

8vo, pp. 32. Dated August 25, 1724. T.C.D., U.L.C.

Fourth edition.

R.I.A.*
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 57-95.

Another Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of the Report of the Committee. . . . In Relation to Mr. Wood's Half Pence and Farthings, &c. lately

Publish'd. Dublin Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble Street. [Signed "Misoxulos."] [vi. 89

Broadside. B.M. (mutilated), Forst.

[Drapier Letters, No. 4.]

A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland. By M. B. Drapier. . . . Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble Street. [vi. 93

8vo, pp. 22. Dated Oct. 13, 1724. U.L.C., T.C.D. (impt.).
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 96-112.

Seasonable Advice. Since a Bill is preparing for the Grand-Jury, to find against the Printer of the Drapier's last Letter, there are several things . . . before they determine upon it. Dated Novem. 11th 1724. [vi. 123

Broadside; no place or printer's name. Forst., T.C.D., R.I.A.*
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 123-127.
In "The Hibernian Patriot" (1730) and later reprints this is called "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury."

An Excellent New Song upon the Late Grand-Jury. Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724. [Ald. iii. 214

Broadside; no printer's name. B.M., Forst., U.L.C.
Begins: "Poor Monsieur his Conscience preserv'd for a Year."

An Exce[llent New] So[ng] Upon His Grace Our good Lord Archbishop of Dublin. By honest Jo. one of His Grace's Farmers in Fingal: . . . Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court, 1724. [Ald. iii. 216

Broadside. B.M. copy is mutilated.
Begins: "I Sing not of the Draper's Praise, nor yet of William Wood."

[Drapier Letters, No. 5.]

A Letter To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth. By M. B. Drapier, Author of the Letter to

the Shop-keepers, &c. . . . Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble-street.

[vi. 153

8vo, pp. viii, 22. Dated Dec. 14, 1724, and signed "M.B." B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D., R.I.A.*

Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 129-156.

To the Citizens. Dublin, Printed by G. Needham, 1724. (Signed M.B.) [Ald. iii. 220

Broadside. B.M., Forst.

Begins: "And shall the Patriot who maintain'd your Cause."

Prometheus, a Poem. Dublin: Printed in the year, 1724. [Ald. iii. 103

Broadside, no printer's name. B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D., Forst.

Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 214-216.

Begins: "When first the Squire, and Tinker Wood." Faulkner reprints it (1735, iv. 385): "As, when the 'Squire and Tinker, Wood."

Ireland's Warning, Being an Excellent New Song, upon Woods's Base Half-pence. To the Tune of Packinton's Pound. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court. [Ald. iii. 109

Broadside; no date. B.M., Forst.

Afterwards called "A New Song on Wood's Halfpence."

Begins: "Ye People of Ireland both Country and City."

A Serious Poem upon William Wood, Brasier, Tinker, Hard-Ware-Man, Coiner, Counterfeiter, Founder and Esquire. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court [no date.] [Ald. iii. 113

Printed on a half-sheet. Forst.

Begins: "When Foes are o'ercome, we preserve them from Slaughter."

An excellent New Song Upon the Declarations of the several Corporations of the City of Dublin; against

Woods's Half-pence. To the Tune of London is a fine Town &c. [Ald. iii. 117

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. Forst.
Begins: "O Dublin is a fine Town."

1725

Fraud Detected: or, the Hibernian Patriot. Containing, All the Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland, on Wood's Coinage, &c. . . . Dublin: Re-printed and Sold by George Faulkner in Pembroke-Court, Castle-street, 1725.

8vo, title, pp. 14, 224. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.

A Poem Upon R—r a Lady's Spaniel. [Ald. ii. 114

Broadside, no place, date, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Happiest of the Spaniel-Race."

The Birth of Manly Virtue, from Callimachus. . . . Dublin: Printed by and for George Grierson, at the Two Bibles in Essex-Street. M,DCC,XXV. [Ald. ii. 139

8vo, pp. [iv], 4. B.M., Forst.
Begins: "Once on a Time,' a righteous Sage."

A Riddle By Dr, S—t, to My Lady Carteret. [Ald. ii. 302

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "From India's burning Clime I'm brought."

To his Grace the Arch-Bishop of Dublin, A Poem. . . . Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street. [Ald. iii. 219

Broadside; no date. B.M., Forst.
Begins: "Great, Good and Just was once apply'd."

1726

A Young Lady's Complaint for the Stay of Dean Swift in England. Dublin. 1726. [Ald. ii. 60

Printed on a half-sheet. T.C.D.

Cadenus and Vanessa. A Poem. London, Printed: And Sold by J. Roberts at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1726. Price 6*d*. [Ald. ii. 196

8vo, pp. 37. Bodl.

Another edition: Cadenus and Vanessa, a Law Case. By Dean Swift, London. Printed for T. Warner, in Paternoster Row, MDCCXXVI.

12mo, pp. 36.

Described by Mr. E. Solly in *The Antiquarian Magazine*, January, 1885.

Another edition: Cadenus and Vanessa. A Poem. . . . By Dr. S—t. The Fourth Edition. London, Printed for N. Blandford, at the London-Gazette, Charing-Cross; and sold by J. Peele, at Locke's-Head in Paternoster-Row. 1726. (Price 6*d*.)

8vo, pp. 32. B.M., Forst., U.L.C., Advoc., G'hall.

N.B.—This edition has "A True and Faithful Inventory" added.

The Fifth Edition, 1726.

U.L.C.

The Sixth Edition, 1726.

Bodl.

Another edition: Cadenus and Vanessa. A Poem. From the Original Copy. Dublin: Printed in the Year 2726 [*sic*].

8vo, pp. 32. T.C.D.

Another edition: Edinburgh, 1726 (Allan Ramsay), paged 83-114.

B.M.

Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships. Vol. I. London: Printed for Benj. Motte, at the Middle Temple-Gate in Fleet-street. M DCC XXVI.

The title-page of the second volume runs:

Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. By Captain Lemuel Gulliver. Part III. A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Glubbdubdrib, Luggnagg and Japan. Part IV. A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms. London: Printed for Benjamin Motte, at the Middle-Temple-Gate. M DCC XXVI. [vol. viii

Edition A.

8vo. Front., pp. xvi, 148; vi, 164; vi, 155; viii, 199, and six plates. B.M., Forst., Sion Coll., Bodl., U.L.C.

Edition AA.

8vo. Front., pp. xii, 148; vi, 164; vi, 154; viii, 199, and six plates. B.M.; vol. i only, Forst.

Edition B.

8vo. Front., pp. xii, 310, 3 leaves between pp. 148 and 149; vi, 353, 4 leaves between pp. 154 and 155. Vol. i only, B.M.; 2 vols., comp., Forst., U.L.C., T.C.D.

Second Edition, 1726.

8vo, pp. xii, 312, 3 leaves between pp. 148 and 149; vi, 154; viii, 199. T.C.D.; vol. ii only, B.M., Forst.

Second Edition, 1727.

8vo. Front., pp. xii, 148; vi, 164; vi, 155; viii, 199, and six plates. There are 20 pages (B.M. and Dyce, but 24 pages Bodl. and Forst.) of verses inserted at the beginning of the first volume before p. iii.

The title-page of vol. ii says: "The Second Edition, Corrected." B.M., Forst., Dyce, Bodl.

The first issue, Edition A, has the words "Captain Lemuel Gulliver, of Redriff Aetat. suae 58" in the space below the portrait; Edition AA and subsequent issues have these words in the oval around the portrait, and a quotation from Persius in the space below. It will be noticed also that in "A" and "AA" each of the four parts is paged separately, while in "B" the pagination is continuous through each volume; moreover in "A" part iii ends on p. 155, and in "AA" and "B" it ends on p. 154. A full collation of these three issues is prefixed to vol. viii of this edition. The B.M. possesses a large paper copy of "A" and a fine copy of "AA," but the copy of "B" (first volume) is mated with a vol. ii of the second edition, 1726.

The designations "A," "AA," and "B," to distinguish the issues

of 1726, were suggested by Mr. Solly in "Notes and Queries," December 12, 1885.

Benjamin Motte issued a smaller edition in 1727, which is not described as second (or any other) edition on the title-page; this contains the verses given as "never before printed" in the 8vo Second Edition of 1727, including the four extra pages of the Bodleian and Forster copies.

12mo, Title, pp. x, xii, 264; vi, 269, and eight plates (two being new), but no portrait. B.M., U.L.C.

1731.

2 vols. 8vo. Bodl.
2 vols. 12mo. B.M.

1742. The Fourth Edition, Corrected. C. Bathurst.

B.M., Advoc.

1747. Fifth Edition.

12mo. B.M., U.L.C.
This forms vol. xiii of "Miscellanies" (see under 1742-6).

1750[?]. London: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. [qy. date cut off.]

4to, pp. 264. *Nos.* 1-66. B.M.

1771.

8vo, Title, pp. 293. No place or printer's name. B.M.
This edition contains only the Voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag, preceded by Baucis and Philemon, Letter to a Very Young Lady, and Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift.

1780.

16mo, 3 vols. Joseph Wenman. B.M.

1782.

8vo, pp. 140, double cols. Harrison and Co. B.M.

1840.

Royal 8vo, with Life by W. C. Taylor and illustrations by Grandville from a French edition published in 1838. The opening of many of the

chapters is altered to suit the French initials. B.M., Forst., T.C.D., Bodl.

"Gulliver's Travels" was reprinted serially in "Parker's Penny Post," from No. 246 (Monday, Nov. 28, 1726) to No. 390 (Friday, Nov. 3, 1727).

Dublin editions:

Travels into several Remote Nations of the World. . . . Vol. I. In this Impression, several Errors in the London Edition are Corrected. Dublin: Printed by and for J. Hyde, Bookseller in Dame's Street, 1726.

12mo, 6 leaves, pp. 274. This edition is paged consecutively through the two volumes, vol. ii—after 3 leaves of title and contents—beginning with p. 133.

Another edition. "Printed for G. Risk, G. Ewing, and W. Smith in Dame-street, M DCC XXVII."

8vo, Front., pp. viii, 68; iv, 75; iv, 79; vi, 88, and six plates. B.M.

Another edition. Travels into several Remote Nations of the World. . . . In this Impression several Errors in the London and Dublin Editions are corrected. Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner, . . . M DCC XXXV.

8vo, 10 leaves, pp. 404. This is vol. iii of Swift's Works. B.M.

French translation. Voyages du Capitaine Lemuel Gulliver, en Divers Pays Eloignez. Tome Premier. [Tome Second.] . . . À La Haye, Chez P. Gosse & J. Neaulme. MDCCXXVII.

12mo, 4 leaves, pp. 212; 4 leaves, pp. 220. There are four title-pages—one to each part.

Another version. Voyages de Gulliver. Tome Premier. [Tome Second.] Seconde Edition, revûë & corrigée. A Paris, Chez Hippolyte-Louis Guerin, ruë S. Jacques, à S. Thomas d'Aquin, vis-à-vis S. Yves. M.DCC.XXVII.

Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roi. [Traduits par l'Abbé Desfontaines.]

12mo, pp. xliv, 277; vii, 325. B.M.

Another copy with different imprint: A Paris, chez Gabriel Martin, ruë S. Jacques, vis-à-vis la ruë du Plâtre, à l'Etoile.

Forst.

Dutch translation. Reisbeschryving na Verscheyde Afgelegene Natien in de Wereld. Reys na Lilliput, door Lemuel Gulliver Eerste Deel. [Reys na Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib en Japan; door Lemuel Gulliver Derde Deel.] [Reys na 't Land der Houyhnhnms, door Lemuel Gulliver Vierde Deel.] In 's Gravenhage by Alberts & Vander Kloot. MDCCXXVII.

12mo, 4 leaves, pp. 284, 139, 172. B.M.

There is no title-page for "Tweede Deel der Reysen. Reys na Brobdingnag."

Other translations have appeared into German (1772), Norwegian (1772), Spanish (1834), Portuguese (1836), Polish (1851), Greek (1859), Swedish (1872), and Hebrew (1899).

1727

Miscellanea. In Two Volumes. Never before Published. . . . London: Printed in the Year, 1727. Price 5*s*. [Curll.]

12mo, 4 leaves, pp. 155, 9 pages not numbered; title, pp. 99, iv, ii, 101. B.M.

Vol. i contains Cadenus and Vanessa.

Vol. ii contains An Essay on Gibing [spurious], The Dean's Answer [to Vanessa's Rebus], Answer to Dr. Delany's Riddle, The Journal, and His Grace's Answer [to Smedley's Petition to Duke of Grafton].

Swifteana. Consisting of Poems By Dean Swift, and several of his Friends. Never before printed. London: Printed in the Year, 1727.

No printer's name. This forms pp. 67-99 of vol. ii of "Miscel-

lanea" (Curll). Contains The Dean's Answer [to Vanessa's Rebus], Answer to Dr. Delany's Riddle, The Journal, and His Grace's Answer. B.M.

The Present Miserable State of Ireland. In a Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin, to his Friend S. R. W. in London: Wherein is briefly . . . Dublin: Printed, &c. [1727?] [vii. 151

Title taken from Scott's edition of Swift, vol. i, 1814.

There is another edition, entitled: The Case Of the Kingdom of Ireland. Taken into Consideration; in a Letter to a Member of Parliament, in the Behalf of Trade, &c. . . . Dublin: Printed, &c.

8vo, pp. 8. Sion Coll. (cropped).
The letter is headed: "The present miserable State &c."

Helter Skelter, or The Hue and Cry after the Attornies, going to ride the Circuit. [Ald. i. 209

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M., T.C.D. (mutilated).
Begins: "Now the active young Attornies."
Reprinted with "A Proposal Humbly offered," 1731.

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. The First Volume. London: Printed for Benjamin Motte, at the Middle-Temple Gate in Fleet-Street. M.DCC.XXVII.

8vo, pp. 16, [iv], 408. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., T.C.D., Dyce.

Another edition: 1728.

8vo, pp. xvi, ii, 408. Forst.

Miscellanies. The Second Volume. Same imprint.

8vo, 8 leaves, pp. 358. B.M., Forst., Bodl., T.C.D., Dyce.

Miscellanies. The Last Volume. London: Printed for B. Motte, at the Middle Temple Gate Fleet-Street. 1727.

8vo, pp. 92, viii, 64, 313, iv. B.M., Dyce, Bodl., T.C.D

Another edition: 1732.

8vo, pp. 434, and 4 pages of Contents. Forst.

The Preface to vol. i is signed "Jonath. Swift, Alex. Pope," and admits that pieces by Gay and Arbuthnot are included.

3 vols. 12mo, 1733 (vol. ii is called Second Edition). Dyce, T.C.D.

3 vols. 12mo, [1737?]-36-38. Forst.

Dublin reprint, 3 vols., Sam. Fairbrother, 1728-28-33.

Bodl.

Dublin reprint, 3 vols., 1732-3.

T.C.D.

"Miscellanies. The Third Volume"—which was published by Motte and Gilliver in 1732—is often confused with Motte's "Miscellanies. The Last Volume" of 1727. Charles Davis's collection of "Miscellanies, In Prose and Verse. Volume the Fifth" (1735) is supplementary. These volumes will be found under their respective dates.

The following piece is printed in "Miscellanies. The Second Volume" (1727):

A Letter To a very Young Lady On Her Marriage. [xi. 113

Pp. 319-37.

1728

A Short View of the State of Ireland. Dublin: Printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1727-8. [vii. 79

8vo, pp. 15. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C., T.C.D., Advoc.

Another edition: A Short View . . . Printed for, and Sold by Combra Daniell, Bookseller, opposite the Main Guard.

8vo, pp. 15. U.L.C.

Reprinted in "The Intelligencer," No. 15, with an introduction by Sheridan.

An Answer to a Paper, called A Memorial of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland. By the Author of the Short View of the

State of Ireland. Dublin: Printed by S. Harding next door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728. [vii. 107

8vo, pp. 16. T.C.D., U.L.C., Advoc.
Reprinted in Swift's Works, vol. iv, 1735, Faulkner.

The Intelligencer. Numb. I. Saturday. May, 11, To be Continued Weekly, Dublin: Printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 172 (*sic*). [ix. 313

Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 13, and 17 were dated 1728; No. 10 is dated July 4th; No. 19 consists of a letter dated at the end Dec. 2d, 1728; and No. 20 is dated 1729. Each number contained eight small pages, with the exception of a few double numbers.

Forst., U.L.C. (Nos. 1 to 6 only).

No. 3 is an article on "The Beggar's Opera." [ix. 316

No. 4 is an article on Gaming.

Nos. 5 and 7 were afterwards republished as "An Essay on the Fates of Clergymen" (see under 1732).

No. 6 is an Essay on the Present Condition of Ireland. [vii. 26

No. 8 chiefly consists of the poem "Mad Mullinix and Timothy." [Ald. iii. 132

No. 9 is an Essay on Modern Education (see also under 1732).

No. 10 contains the poem "Tim and the Fables." [Ald. iii. 142

No. 11 contains a letter by Dean Smedley on Commentators.

No. 12 contains a poem, "The Progress of Patriotism."

No. 13 is an article on Story-telling.

No. 14 contains "The Story of Prometheus" and "The Tale of the T—d."

No. 15 is a reprint of "A Short View of the State of Ireland," with an Introduction.

No. 16 is a Letter to "The Intelligencer," with the reply.

No. 17 is a second Letter to "The Intelligencer."

No. 18 is a Letter on the Drapier's Birthday.

No. 19 is a Letter from a Country Gentleman (signed A. North). [ix. 323

No. 20 is "Dean Smedley Gone to seek his Fortune," and contains a poem, "The Very Reverend Dean Smedley." [Ald. ii. 193

The Intelligencer. . . . Printed at Dublin. London Reprinted, and sold by A. Moor in St. Paul's Church-

yard, and the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCXXIX. (Contains Nos. 1-19.)

8vo, pp. vi, 217. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.

The Intelligencer. . . . By the Author of a Tale of a Tub. The Second Edition. London: Printed for Francis Cogan, at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet-street. MDCCXXX. (Contains Nos. 1-20.)

12mo, pp. viii, 268. B.M., Forst., Bodl.

No. 19 was reprinted as:

A Letter from the Revd. J. S. D. S. P. D. to a Country Gentleman in the North of Ireland. Printed in the Year, MDCCXXXVI.

8vo, pp. 8; no place or printer's name. B.M.

1729

A Modest Proposal For preventing the Children of Poor People From being a Burthen to their Parents, or the Country, and For making them Beneficial to the Publick. Dublin: Printed by S. Harding, opposite the Hand and Pen near Fishamble-Street, on the Blind-Key. MDCCXXIX. [vii. 201

8vo, pp. 16. Forst., T.C.D., Bodl.

Third edition, 1730.

T.C.D., R.I.A.*

Another edition. A Modest Proposal For preventing the Children of Poor People From being a Burthen to Their Parents or Country, and For making them Beneficial to the Publick. By Dr. Swift. Dublin, Printed by S. Harding;

London, Re-printed; and sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-lane, and the Pamphlet-Shops. M.DCC.XXIX.

8vo, pp. 19. B.M.

Another edition. A Modest Proposal For preventing the Children of Poor People From being a Burthen to their Parents or the Country, And for making them Beneficial to the Publick. Dublin: Printed: And Reprinted at London, for Weaver Bickerton, in Devereux-Court near the Middle-Temple. M.DCC.XXX.

8vo, pp. 23. B.M., Bodl.

Third edition, 1730. B.M., U.L.C.

This tract forms a portion of "A View of the Present State of Affairs in the Kingdom of Ireland" (1730). It was also reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume" (1732).

The Journal of a Modern Lady. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. By the Author of Cadenus and Vanessa. First Printed at Dublin; and now Reprinted at London; for J. Wilford, near Stationers-Hall, MDCCXXIX. [Price Four Pence.] [Ald. i. 214

8vo, pp. 23. B.M., G'hall.

Another edition: London Printed by George Gorden.

Printed on a half-sheet; no date. B.M.

Begins: "*It was* a most unfriendly Part."

Reprinted in "The Metamorphosis of the Town," 2nd edition, J. Wilford, 1730. B.M.

To His Excellency John, Lord Carteret; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. An Imitation of Horace, Ode IX. Lib. IV. Dublin: Printed by James Carson, in Coghill's-Court, Dame's Street, 1729. [Ald. iii. 161

Broadside. B.M.

Begins: "Patron of the tuneful Throng."

An altered version of this poem, addressed to Humphry French, late Lord Mayor of Dublin, was printed at the end of the first London edition of "The Presbyterians Plea of Merit," 1733.

On Paddy's Character of the Intelligencer. [Ald. ii. 144

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name (unless cut off). B.M.

1730

An Apology to the Lady C[a]r[tere]t. On Her Inviting Dean S[wi]ft To Dinner; . . . Printed in the Year 1730. [No place or printer's name.] [Ald. ii. 133

8vo, pp. 8. Forst., T.C.D., R.I.A.*
Begins: "A Lady, Wise as well Fair" [*sic*].

An Epistle To His Excellency John Lord Carteret Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. [*At end*] Dublin: Printed by George Grierson Where a small Edition of this Poem may be had. [Ald. ii. 146

Folio, 4 leaves. U.L.C.
Begins: "Thou wise and learned Ruler of our Ile."

An Epistle upon an Epistle From a certain Doctor To a certain great Lord: being a Christmas-Box for D. D——ny. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year 1730. [Ald. ii. 150

8vo, pp. 8. Forst., T.C.D.
Begins: "As Jove will not attend on less."

An Epistle To His Excellency John Lord Carteret Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. To which is added, an Epistle, upon an Epistle; being A Christmas-Box for Doctor D——ny. Dublin: Printed, in the Year 1730. [No printer's name.]

8vo, pp. 8. B.M. (copy only has first 4 pages), Forst., T.C.D.

A Libel on D[r.] D[elany]. and a Certain Great Lord. Printed in the Year MDCCXXX. [Ald. ii. 155

8vo, pp. 8; no place, or printer's name. B.M., Forst., T.C.D.

Another edition: A Satire on Dr. D——ny. By Dr. Sw—t. . . . Printed at Dublin: And Re-printed at London, for A. Moore, near St. Paul's. M DCC XXX.

8vo, pp. 27. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., Advoc.
Begins: "Deluded Mortals, whom the Great."

A Libel on Dr. D——ny, And a certain Great Lord. By Dr. Sw—t. Occasion'd by a certain Epistle. To which is added, I. An Epistle . . . by Dr. D——ny. II. An Epistle on an Epistle; or a Christmas-Box for Dr. D——ny. III. Dr. Sw—t's Proposal for preventing . . . to the Public. The Second Edition. Printed at Dublin: And Re-printed at London, for A. Moore, near St. Paul's. M DCC XXX. (Price 6*d*.)

8vo, pp. 24. B.M., Bodl.

Another edition: A Libel. . . . Dublin: Printed, London: Reprinted for Capt. Gulliver near the Temple, MDCCXXX. (Price Sixpence.)

8vo, title, pp. 32. U.L.C.

To Doctor D—l—y, on the Libels Writ against him. . . . London: Printed. And, Dublin Reprinted in the Year MDCCXXX. [No printer's name.] [Ald. ii. 162

8vo, pp. 16. B.M., Forst., T.C.D.
Begins: "As some raw Youth in Country bred."

An Answer to Dr. D[elan]y's Fable of the Pheasant and the Lark. Printed in the Year 1730. [No place or printer's name.] [Ald. ii. 183

8vo, pp. 7. B.M., Forst., T.C.D., R.I.A.*
Begins: "In antient Times the Wise were able."

An Excellent New Ballad: or, The true En—sh D——n to be hang'd for a R—pe. [Ald. i. 242

Half-sheet; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M., U.L.C.
Begins: "Our Brethren of E—nd who love us so dear."

The Hibernian Patriot: Being a Collection of the Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland, concerning Mr. Wood's Brass Half-Pence. . . . Printed at Dublin. London: Re-printed and Sold by A. Moor in St. Paul's Church-yard,

and the Booksellers of London and Westminster, MDCCXXX.

8vo, 4 leaves, pp. 264. B.M., Forst., U.L.C., Bodl., R.I.A.,* G'hall.

A reprint of "Fraud Detected" with slight alterations.

A Vindication of his Excellency the Lord C——t, from the Charge Of favouring none but Tories, High-Churchmen and Jacobites. By the Reverend Dr. S——t. London: Printed for T. Warner at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster-Row. MDCCXXX. (Price 6*d.*) [vii. 225

8vo, title, pp. 27. B.M., G'hall, Bodl.

Another edition: A Vindication of his Ex——y the Lord C——, from The Charge of favouring none but Toryes, High-Churchmen, and Jacobites. London: Printed, and Dublin Re-printed in the Year M DCC XXX.

8vo, pp. 37; no printer's name. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D., R.I.A.* Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume" (1732).

Horace, Book I., Ode XIV., . . . paraphrased and inscribed to Ir[elan]d. Printed in the Year MDCDXXX [*sic*].

8vo; no place or printer's name. T.C.D.

Another edition.

8vo, 1732. T.C.D.

Begins: "Unhappy Ship, thou art return'd in vain."

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of "The Grand Question debated," 1732.

1731

Memoirs of Capt. John Creichton. Written by Himself. Printed in the Year, 1731.

8vo, pp. 170; no place or printer's name. B.M., T.C.D.

The "Advertisement To the Reader" prefixed is by Swift. [xi. 165

The Place of the Damn'd. By J. S. D.D.D.S.P.D. Printed in the year, 1731. [Ald. ii. 16

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "All Folks who pretend to Religion and Grace."

A Proposal Humbly offered to the P——t, For the more effectual preventing the further Growth of Popery. . . . By Dr. S——t. To which is added, The Humble Petition of the Weavers. . . . As also two Poems, viz. Helter Skelter, . . . and The Place of the Damn'd. Dublin Printed. London, Re-printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXXI. Price Six Pence. [iv. 247

8vo, pp. 32. Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.

The Second Edition, 1732.

8vo, pp. 32. B.M.
The "Proposal" is reprinted in "Miscellanies," vol. viii, 1748.

1732

A Soldier and a Scholar: or the Lady's Judgment Upon those two Characters In the Persons of Captain —— and D—n S—t. The Third Edition. London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. M DCC XXXII. [Price Six-pence.] [Ald. ii. 312

4to, pp. 19. B.M.
There is a copy of the Second Edition in the Advocates' Library.

Another Edition: The Grand Question debated: Whether Hamilton's Bawn Should be turn'd into a Barrack, or a Malt-house. According to the London Edition, with Notes. London Printed by A. Moore. And, Dublin Re-printed by George Faulkner, in Essex-Street, M,DCC,XXXII.

8vo, pp. 18. B.M., T.C.D., G'hall.
Begins: "Thus spoke to my Lady the Knight full of Care."

A Proposal for an Act of Parliament to pay off the Debt of the Nation, without taxing the Subject, . . . [vii. 251

Printed in J. Roberts' edition of "Considerations upon Two Bills," 1732.

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. iv, 1735, and in "Miscellanies," vol. v, 1735.

Considerations upon Two Bills Sent down from the R—— H—— the H—— of L—— To the H——ble H—— of C—— Relating to the Clergy of I*****D. London. Printed for A. Moore, near St. Paul's, and Sold by the Booksellers of Westminster and Southwark, 1732. [iii. 257

8vo, pp. 42. B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D., R.I.A.*

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. vi, 1738.

Another edition: Considerations upon Two Bills, Sent down from the Rt. Hon. the House of Lords to the Honourable House of Commons of Ireland, relating to the Clergy of That Kingdom. By the Rev. Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D. To which is added, A Proposal for an Act of Parliament, to pay off the Debt of the Nation, . . . By A— P—, Esq; Dublin, Printed; London, Re-printed for J. Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1732. (Price Six-pence.)

8vo, pp. 32. B.M.

An Examination of Certain Abuses, Corruptions, and Enormities in the City of Dublin. Dublin: Printed in the Year 1732. [vii. 261

8vo, pp. 27, no printer's name. B.M.

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. iv, 1735, and in "Miscellanies," vol. v, 1735.

Another edition: City Cries, Instrumental and Vocal: or An Examination of certain Abuses, Corruptions, and Enormities, in London and Dublin. By the Rev. Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D. Dublin, Printed; London, Re-

printed for J. Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1732. (Price Six-pence.)

8vo, pp. 30. B.M., Bodl., R.I.A.*, G'hall.

The Lady's Dressing-Room. A Poem. By ******. London, Printed, and Dublin, Reprinted, in the Year 1732. [Ald. i. 246

8vo, pp. 8. T.C.D.

The Second Edition, 1732.

Forst.

Another edition: The Lady's Dressing-Room. A Poem. By D—n S—t. From the Original Copy. The Third Edition. Dublin: Printed and sold by George Faulkner in Essex-street, 1732.

8vo, pp. 8. B.M.

Another edition: The Lady's Dressing Room. To which is added, A Poem on Cutting down the Old Thorn at Market Hill. By the Rev. Dr. S—t. London, Printed for J. Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane. MDCCXXXII. (Price Six Pence.) [Ald. i. 246; ii. 349

4to, pp. 20. B.M., Forst., Advoc.

The Second Edition, 1732.

4to, pp. 20. B.M.

The Advantages propos'd by repealing the Sacramental Test, impartially considered. Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, in Essex-street, opposite to the Bridge, MDCCXXXII. [iv. 75

8vo, pp. 16. U.L.C.

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. iv, 1735, and in "Miscellanies," vol. v, of the same date.

Another edition: The Advantages Proposed by Repealing the Sacramental Test, impartially Considered. By the

Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. To which is added, Remarks on . . . Nature and Consequences of the Sacramental Test . . . Dublin, Printed; London, Re-printed for J. Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1732. (Price Six-pence.)

8vo, pp. 32. B.M., U.L.C., K.I.*, Advoc.

Quæries Wrote by Dr. J. Swift, in the Year 1732. Very proper to be read (at this Time by every Member of the Established Church. [iv. 67

Printed on a half-sheet. No date, place, or printer's name. B.M. Reprinted in Faulkner (1735), iv, 362-370, and in "Miscellanies" (1735), v, 410-419, as "Queries Relating to the Sacramental Test."

"The Advantages Proposed," and "Quæries," reprinted by George Faulkner, in his edition of "The Dispute Adjusted," by Edm. [Gibson] Lord Bishop of London. Dublin. 1733. B.M., U.L.C.

Miscellanies. The Third Volume. London: Printed for Benj. Motte at the Middle Temple-Gate, and Lawton Gilliver at Homer's Head, against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1732.

8vo, title, pp. 100, ii, 276. B.M., U.L.C., Forst., Bodl., T.C.D.

Another edition, 1732.

12mo, pp. 260, 92. Dyce, T.C.D.

Another edition, 1733.

12mo, pp. 333, and 3 pages of Index. Dyce.

Another edition, 1736.

12mo, pp. 216, 71. Forst.

Another edition, 1738.

12mo, pp. 285, and 3 pages of Index. Forst.

The following pieces are in this volume:

An Essay on the Fates of Clergymen. [iii. 289

Originally appeared under the titles of "A Description of what the

World calls Discretion," and "The Characters of Corusodes and Eugenia," in Nos. 5 and 7 of *The Intelligencer*.

Pp. 206-221.

An Essay on Modern Education. [xi. 47

Originally appeared under the title of "The foolish Methods of Education among the Nobility" in No. 9 of *The Intelligencer*.

Pp. 222-237.

A True and Faithful Narrative of What pass'd in London during the general Consternation of all Ranks and Degrees of Mankind; On Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday last. [iv. 273

Pp. 255-276.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume" (1747), where it is said to be by Pope and Gay.

1733

Some Considerations humbly offered to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council of the Honourable City of Dublin, in the Choice of a Recorder. [vii. 317

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. viii, 1746, and in "Miscellanies," vol. xi, 1746.

To the Honourable House of Commons, &c. The humble Petition of the Footmen in and about the City of Dublin. [vii. 305

This is printed at the end of Faulkner's edition of "A Serious and Useful Scheme," 1733, and is reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. iv, 1735, and in "Miscellanies," vol. v, of the same date.

The Life and Genuine Character of Doctor Swift. Written by Himself. London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, and Sold at the Pamphlet Shops, &c. 1733. (Price One Shilling.)

Folio, pp. 19. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., R.I.A.*

Begins: "Wise Rochefoucault a Maxim writ."

Another edition: The Life . . . of the Rev. Dr. S—t, D.S.P.D., ...

8vo, pp. 20. Forst.

On Poetry: A Rapsody. Printed at Dublin, and Re-printed at London: And sold by J. Huggonson, next to Kent's Coffee-House, near Serjeant's-Inn, in Chancery-Lane; and at the Booksellers and Pamphlet-shops, 1733. [Price One Shilling.] [Ald. ii. 62

Folio, pp. 28. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.
Begins: "All Human Race wou'd fain be Wits."

Another edition, no date.

8vo, pp. 22. Forst., Bodl.

Another edition: On Poetry: a Rapsody. London Printed, and Dublin Re-printed, by and for S. Hyde, Bookseller in Dame-Street, 1734.

Sm. 8vo, pp. 26. B.M., Forst., T.C.D., Bodl.
Reprinted in "A New Miscellany For the Year 1734." 8vo, pp. 48; no place or printer's name.

A serious and useful Scheme, to make an Hospital for Incurables, of Universal Benefit to all His Majesty's Subjects. . . . To which is added, A Petition of the Footmen in and about Dublin. By a Celebrated Author in Ireland. London: Printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXXIII. Price 6*d*. [vii. 283

8vo, title, pp. 34. U.L.C., Bodl., Advoc.

Another edition: A Serious and Useful Scheme, To make an Hospital for Incurables, of Universal Benefit to all His Majesty's Subjects. . . . To which is added, A Petition of the Footmen in and about Dublin. . . . Printed at London: And, Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, . . . in Essex-Street, opposite to the Bridge, and by G. Risk, G. Ewing and W. Smith, . . . 1733.

8vo, pp. 34. B.M.

Another issue of same date, with a different title-page, saying, "By the Revd. Dr. J.S.D.S.P.D."

Sm. 8vo, pp. 34. B.M.

Another edition, 1734.

Forst.

The Presbyterians Plea of Merit; In Order to take off the Test, Impartially Examined. Dublin: Printed and sold by George Faulkner, in Essex-street, opposite to the Bridge, 1733. [iv. 23

8vo, pp. 22. B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D.

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. vi, 1738.

Another edition: The Presbyterians Plea of Merit; In Order to take off the Test, (in Ireland,) Impartially Examined. With an Account of the State of Popery in that Kingdom, and of the Origin and Principles of the Dissenters in General. . . . London: Reprinted from the Dublin Edition, for G. F. and Sold by A. Dodd, near Temple-Bar; and at the Pamphlet-Shops. [Price Six-Pence.]

8vo, pp. 32. B.M.

The Second Edition.

8vo, pp. 42. B.M.

The first London edition had "An Ode to Humphry French, Esq; Late Lord Mayor of Dublin," at the end.

The second London edition had "A Narrative of the several Attempts, which the Dissenters of Ireland have made, etc.," at the end.

The Correspondent. No. I. [No. II., . . . No. VI.] Printed by James Hoey in Skinner-Row, 1733.

Each number is 4 pages 4to in double columns, and they are paged consecutively up to p. 24. B.M. (Nos. I to IV), U.L.C. (Nos. I to VI).

No. III.—Humbly inscrib'd to the Conforming Nobility and Gentry of Ireland—and No. IV.—A Continuation of the Narrative—are reprinted in the second London edition of "The Presbyterians Plea of Merit," under the title of "A Narrative of the several Attempts, which the Dissenters of Ireland have made, for a Repeal of the Sacramental Test." [1734?] [iv. 49

Ten Reasons for Repealing the Test Act. [iv. 104

Broadside; no date. T.C.D.

Advice to the Freemen of the City of Dublin, in the Choice of a Member to Represent them in Parliament. [vii. 309

Reprinted by Faulkner in his edition of Swift's Works, vol. viii, 1746, where he says it was published in the year 1733.

1734

A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed. Written for the Honour of the Fair Sex. . . . To which are added, Strephon and Chloe. and Cassinus and Peter. Dublin printed: London reprinted for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, MDCCXXXIV. (Price One Shilling.)
[Ald. ii. 1, ii. 4, and i. 252

4to, pp. 31. B.M., Advoc.

An Epistle to a Lady, Who desired the Author to make Verses on Her, in the Heroick Stile. Also A Poem, Occasion'd by Reading Dr. Young's Satires, called, The Universal Passion. Dublin, Printed: And Reprinted at London for J. Wilford, at the Three Flower-de-Luces behind the Chapter-House, St. Paul's Church-Yard. M.DCC.XXXIV. [Price 1*s*. [Ald. ii. 26, and iii. 129

Folio, title, pp. 18. B.M., Dyce.
Begin: "After venting all my Spight," and, "If there be Truth in what you sing."
Reprinted in "A New Miscellany For the Year 1734."

Miscellanies. Consisting chiefly of Original Pieces in Prose and Verse. By D . . n S . . . t. Never before Published in this Kingdom. Dublin Printed. London: Re-printed for A. Moore in Fleetstreet, 1734. (Price One Shilling.)

8vo, title, pp. 55. Bodl.

A New Miscellany For the Year 1734. Part I. Containing I. An Epistle to a Lady, . . . II. On reading Dr. Young's Satires. . . . III. On Poetry: A Rapsody. IV. On the Words, Brother-Protestants, . . .

8vo, half-title, pp. 24. B.M., Advoc.
N.B. Part II—half-title, pp. 25-48—contains nothing by Swift.

Reasons Humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland For Repealing the Sacramental Test, &c. in favour of the Catholics, Otherwise called Roman Catholics, and by their Ill-Willers Papists . . . Written in the Year 1733. [London, 1734?] [iv. 87

Reprinted in "Political Tracts" (1738), ii, 253-70, and in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. viii, 1746, where it is said to have been printed in London in 1734.

Some Reasons against the Bill for settling the Tyth of Hemp, Flax, &c. by a Modus. Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner in Essex-Street, opposite to the Bridge. M DCC XXIV. [*sic*]. [iii. 273

8vo, pp. 20. T.C.D.
Reprinted in "Political Tracts" (1738), ii, 271-88, with the date 1734.

Poems on Several Occasions. [By Mrs. Mary Barber.] London: Printed for C. Rivington, at the Bible and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. M.DCC.XXXIV.

4to, pp. xlviii, 283 (and 7 pages of Index). B.M., Forst., U.L.C.
Contains an introductory Letter to John, Earl of Orrery, by Swift.

1735

The Works of J.S, D.D, D.S.P.D. in Four Volumes. Containing, I. . . . Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner, Printer and Bookseller, in Essex-Street, opposite to the Bridge, M DCC XXXV.

Originally 4 vols. published by subscription in 1735.
8vo edition, pp. [xxiv], 345; [viii], 480; [xx], 404; [xii], 388. B.M., Forst., T.C.D.
12mo, 4 vols. 1735. T.C.D.

Swift's Works were reprinted by Faulkner from time to time with additional volumes.

The Works of J.S., D.D., D.S.P.D. In Six Volumes. . . . M,DCC,XXXVIII.

Bodl., U.L.C.
Vols. 5 and 6, 8vo, 1741. B.M.
Vol. 7, 1741. Bodl. 1746. B.M.
Vol. 8, 1742. Bodl. 1746. B.M.
N.B.—Vol. 8, 1746, contains some pieces which were not included in the edition of 1742.

The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D,D.S.P.D. In Eight Volumes. M,D,CC,XLVI.

B.M.
Vol. 9, 1758. Bodl.
Vol. 10, 1762. Bodl.
Vol. 11, 1763. Bodl.
Vols. 12 and 13, 1765. Bodl.
Vol. 14, 1767. Bodl.
Vols. 15 and 16, title-pages missing. Bodl.

The Works Of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. In Twenty Volumes. M DCC LXXII.

B.M.

The following pieces were published in vol. iv of this edition:

The Drapier's Letters, Letter VI. A Letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton. [vi. 131

Dated Oct. 26, 1724, and signed J. S.
At pp. 186-209.

The Drapier's Letters. Letter VII. An Humble Address to both Houses of Parliament. By M. B. Drapier. [vi. 177

At pp. 210-242.

The Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezor Elliston, who was Executed the Second Day of May, 1722. [vii. 55

At pp. 375-381.

Miscellanies, In Prose and Verse. Volume the Fifth. Which with the other Volumes already published in England, compleats this Author's Works. London: Printed for Charles Davis, in Pater-noster Row. MDCCXXXV.

8vo, 4 leaves, pp. 480. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.

Another edition: Printed for T. Woodward . . . and Charles Davis. . . . 1738.

12mo, pp. [vi], 239 (this only contains the poems in vol. v of the 8vo edition). Forst.

1736

Speech delivered by Dean Swift to an Assembly of Merchants met at the Guildhall, to draw up a Petition to the Lord Lieutenant on the Lowering of Coin, April 24th, 1736. [vii. 351

Printed at beginning of a tract, "Reasons why we should not lower the Coins now current in this Kingdom. . . . Dublin. . . ." B.M.

The Poetical Works, of J.S.D.D.D.S.P.D. . . . Reprinted from the Second Dublin Edition, with Notes and Additions. . . . Printed in the Year. MDCCXXXVI.

12mo, 4 leaves, pp. 304. No place or printer's name. B.M., Forst.

1737

A Proposal for giving Badges to the Beggars in all the Parishes of Dublin. By the Dean of St. Patrick's. London, Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater Noster Row. MDCCXXXVII. Price Six Pence. [vii. 321

4to, pp. 16. B.M., U.L.C.
Dublin, 1737. 8vo. T.C.D., U.L.C.
Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. vi (1738).

1738

An Imitation of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace. . . . The first Part done in the Year 1714, By Dr. Swift. The latter Part now first added, And never

before Printed. London: Printed for B. Motte and C. Bathurst in Fleet-Street, and J. and P. Knapton in Ludgate-Street, M DCC XXXVIII. (Price one Shilling.)

[Ald. iii. 55

Folio, pp. [iv], 23. B.M., Dyce, U.L.C.
Begins: "I've often wish'd that I had clear."

The Beasts Confession to the Priest, on Observing how most Men mistake their own Talents. By J.S. D.S.P. Dublin, Printed: London, Re-Printed: And Sold by T. Cooper, at the Globe, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1738.

[Ald. ii. 44

8vo, pp. 22. B.M., Bodl.
Begins: "When Beasts could speak, (the learned say."

Second edition.

Forst., Advoc.

A Complete Collection Of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, According to the Most Polite Mode and Method Now Used At Court, and in the Best Companies of England. In Three Dialogues. By Simon Wagstaff, Esq; London: Printed for B. Motte, and C. Bathurst, at the Middle Temple-Gate in Fleet-street. M.DCC.XXXVIII.

[xi. 195

8vo, title, pp. lxxxvi, 215. B.M., Forst., Bodl., K.I.*, Advoc.

Another edition: A Compleat Collection. . . . Companies of England. In several Dialogues. Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner. M,DCC,XXXVIII.

8vo.

An adaptation of this is called: Tittle Tattle; or, Taste A-la-mode. A New Farce. . . . By Timothy Fribble, Esq; . . . London: Printed for R. Griffiths, at the Dunciad, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. M DCC XLIX. (Price One Shilling.)

8vo, pp. 52. B.M.

Political Tracts. Vol. I. [Vol. II.] By the Author of Gulliver's Travels. London, Printed for C. Davis in Pater-Noster-Row. MDCCXXXVIII.

Reprinted from vols. v and vi of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works of the same date, omitting "Polite Conversation" and adding two pamphlets.

8vo, pp. [viii], 342, and 24 pages of Index; [iv], 288, and 19 pages of Index. Forst.

1739

Verses on the Death of Doctor Swift. Written by Himself: Nov. 1731. London: Printed for C. Bathurst, at the Middle Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet. MDCCXXXIX. [Ald. ii. 81

Folio, title, pp. 18. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C.

Second Edition.

B.M., Dyce, Forst.

N.B. There are two different "Second Editions," folio, C. Bathurst, of the same date, but differing in pagination: one of them has an ornament on the title of Fame blowing a trumpet, and the other has a bust on a pedestal. The first edition has a cock within a frame supported by two cupids.

8vo, 1739.

Advoc.

8vo, 1741.

Pp. 22. Forst.

The Dublin edition is entitled: Verses on the Death of Dr. S——, D.S.P.D. Occasioned By reading a Maxim in Rochefoulcault [*sic*]. . . . Written by Himself, November 1731. London Printed: Dublin: Re-printed by George Faulkner, M,DCC,XXXIX.

8vo, pp. 44. B.M., T.C.D., Forst., U.L.C.

Second Edition.

Forst.
Begins: "As Rochfoucault his Maxims drew."

Advertisement For the Honour of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Printed at the end of Faulkner's edition of "Verses on the Death of Dr. S——, D.S.P.D., 1739.
Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. viii (1746), p. 177.

A Supplement to Dr. Swift's and Mr. Pope's Works. Containing . . . Several Pieces, by Dr. Swift . . . Dublin: Printed by S. Powell, For Edward Exshaw at the Bible on Cork-hill, over-against the Old-Exchange. M DCC XXXIX.

12mo, 6 leaves, pp. 354. B.M., Forst.
Contains Preface to "Miscellanies" (3 vols., 1727), "Two Letters to the Intelligencer," "Mad Mullinix," etc.

1740

The Poetical Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. [Vol. II.] London: Sold by A. Manson, R. Dilton, J. Thomson, H. Gray, T. Nelson, and P. Bland. [1740?]

8vo, pp. v, 239; v, 240. No date. B.M., Forst., Dyce.

1741

Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs. Written in the Year 1714. Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner. M,DCC,XLI. [v. 391

Preface is dated May, 1741.
8vo, pp. [iv], 32. B.M., Forst.

Another edition: Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs. By the Author of Gulliver's Travels.

Dublin Printed: London, Re-printed for T. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row. 1741. [Price Six-Pence.]

8vo, pp. iv, 27. B.M., Bodl.

Another edition: Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs. Written in the Year 1714. Dublin, Printed: London, Reprinted for J. Brindley in New-Bond-Street; and sold by T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row. M,DCC,XLI. [Price Sixpence.]

8vo, pp. [iv], 32. B.M., U.L.C.
Is also printed at the end of "Letters To and From Dr. J. Swift," 1741.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies in Four Volumes," vol. i, fifth edit., 1747.

Letters To and From Dr. J. Swift, D.S.P.D. From the Year 1714, to 1738. . . . Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner, MDCCXLI.

8vo, 7 leaves, pp. 300, 32. B.M., Forst., U.L.C.
Contains 87 Letters, and "Some Free Thoughts."
Vol. vii of Swift's Works, Faulkner, M,DCC,XLVI is the same book with one additional letter, pp. 301-302.

Another edition: Dean Swift's Literary Correspondence, For Twenty-four Years; from 1714 to 1738. Consisting of Original Letters To and From . . . Dr. Swift, . . . London: Printed for E. Curll, at Pope's-Head, in Rose-Street, Covent-Garden. M.DCC.XLI. Price 4*s*. Sewed, 5*s*. Bound.

8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 310. B.M.
Contains 88 letters without an index.

1742-6

Miscellanies in Four Volumes. By Dr. Swift, Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Gay. The Fifth Edition Cor-

rected: . . . Vol. I. By Dr. Swift. London: Printed for Charles Bathurst, at the Cross Keys opposite St. Dunstan's Church, Fleetstreet, MDCCXLVII.

This edition—the earlier volumes of which were based on the "Miscellanies," 3 vols., Motte, 1727—was extended to thirteen volumes. Information as to the authorship of many of the papers was supplied to the publishers by Pope. The dates and numbers of the editions are very irregular. There is a set at the British Museum and another in the Guildhall Library. The Advocates' Library possesses an imperfect set—vols. ii and iv to x—dated 1742-1745.

Vol. i, 8vo, 6 leaves, pp. 269, 1742. Fifth edition, 1747, B.M. Fourth edition, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. ii, 8vo, pp. 268, 1742. 1747, B.M. 2 leaves, pp. 264, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. iii, 8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 253 (nothing by Swift), 1742. 1747, B.M. 2 leaves, pp. 252, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. iv, 8vo, 4 leaves, pp. 291, 1742. 1747, B.M. Pp. viii, 283, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. v, 8vo, 3 leaves, pp. 274. Printed for C. Davis. Third edition, 1745, B.M. Fifth edition, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. vi, 8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 316. Printed for C. Davis. 1745, B.M. [1751, title missing], G'hall.

Vol. vii, 8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 326. Printed for C. Davis. 1742. Fourth edition, 1748, B.M. Fourth edition, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. viii, 8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 310. Printed for C. Davis. 1742. Fourth edition, 1748, B.M. Fourth edition, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. ix, 8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 278. Printed for C. Davis. 1742. Fourth edition, 1748, B.M. Fourth edition, 1751, G'hall.

Vol. x, 8vo, pp. viii, 277. Printed for R. Dodsley. 1745, B.M. 1750, G'hall.

Vol. xi, 8vo, pp. viii, 304, and 4 pages of music. Printed for C. Hitch, etc. 1746, B.M. Pp. viii, 309 and 4, 1753, G'hall.

Uniform with the above: A Tale of a Tub.

8vo, pp. xvi, 3 leaves, pp. 220. Printed for C. Bathurst. Eleventh edition, 1747, B.M. Tenth edition, 1751, G'hall, Bodl.

Travels . . . by Lemuel Gulliver.

8vo, 5 leaves, pp. 296. Printed for C. Bathurst. Fifth edition, 1747, B.M. Fifth edition, 1751, G'hall, Bodl.

1744

Three Sermons: I. On Mutual Subjection. II. On Conscience. III. On the Trinity. By the Reverend Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall: And Sold by M. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row. 1744. [Price 1*s.* 6*d.*] [iv. 111, 120, 128

8vo, pp. 64. B.M.

Another edition; same title.

8vo, title, pp. 62. B.M.

This is set in a narrower measure than the previous issue, with which it corresponds line for line. An error on p. 34 of the first edition—"subordination" instead of "subornation"—has been corrected (p. 32, last line).

Another edition; same title, although a fourth sermon is included in the volume, has "The Difficulty of Knowing One's Self" at the end. [iv. 148

4to, title, pp. 94. B.M. (title missing), Bodl., U.L.C.

Another edition: Four Sermons: . . . By the Reverend Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Dublin, Printed by George Faulkner, MDCCLX.

8vo, title, pp. 66. Bodl., U.L.C.

A German translation was published in 1758.

1745

The Blunders, Deficiencies, Distresses, and Misfortunes of Quilca. [vii. 73

This appeared in "Miscellanies. The Tenth Volume," 1745.

Directions to Servants In General; And in particular to The Butler, Cook, . . . By the Reverend Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D. . . . London: Printed for R. Dodsley, in Pall-

Mall, and M. Cooper, in Pater-Noster-Row, M DCC XLV. [Price One Shilling and Six-Pence.] [xi. 303

8vo, title, pp. 93, and Contents. B.M., U.L.C., Bodl.

Second edition, 1746.

Bodl.

Dublin edition. Printed by George Faulkner, in Essex-Street, M,D,CC,XLV.

8vo, pp. [iv], 21, 79. Forst., K.I.*

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," vol. xi (1746), and in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. viii (1746). "The Duty of Servants at Inns" is in "Miscellanies," vol. x (1745).

A German translation was published in 1764.

1746

The Story of the Injured Lady. Being a true Picture of Scotch Perfidy, Irish Poverty, and English Partiality. With Letters and Poems Never before Printed. By the Rev. Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D. London, Printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row. MDCCXLVI. [Price One Shilling.] [vii. 93

8vo, pp. iv, 68. B.M., Forst., Bodl. (imperfect).

Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Eleventh Volume," 1746, and in vol. viii of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works in the same year.

Three Prayers for Stella. [iii. 311

The second and third prayers are printed in "Miscellanies. The Eleventh Volume," 1746, and in vol. viii of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works in the same year. The first prayer appeared in 1755, in vol. vi of the quarto edition of Swift's Works.

The Last Will and Testament of Jonathan Swift, D.D. Attested by Jo. Wynne, Jo. Rochfort, and William Dunkin. Taken out of the Perogative [*sic*] Court of

Dublin. Dublin Printed: London Reprinted; and sold by M. Cooper in Pater-noster-row. MDCCXLVI. [xi. 404

8vo, title, pp. 27. B.M.

Another edition: A true Copy of the late Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift's Will. Taken from, and compar'd with, the Original. Dublin. Printed by Edward Bate in Georges-Lane, MDCCXLVII.

8vo, pp. 14. U.L.C.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Eleventh Volume," 1746.

1749

Poems on Several Occasions, from Genuine Manuscripts of Dean Swift, . . . London: Printed for J. Bromage, at Temple-Bar, and sold by the Booksellers at Bath and Tunbridge Wells, 1749. [Price One Shilling.]

8vo, title, pp. 51. B.M.
The only poem by Swift is "The Storm" (begins "Pallas, a Goddess chaste and wise"). [Ald. ii. 55

1750

A Supplement to the Works of the Most celebrated Minor Poets. . . . To which are added, Pieces omitted in the Works of . . . Dean Swift. London: Printed for F. Cogan, at the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet Street. M DCC L.

8vo, pp. [xii], 284, 95, 96. B.M., Forst.
This contains "Right of Precedence," "Letter of Advice," and several poems.

1751

The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Vol. I. Containing A Tale of a Tub. Written

for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. London: Printed for C. Bathurst, in Fleet-street. MDCCLI.

8vo, 14 vols. Bodl.

Volumes 8 to 14 of this edition are entitled "Miscellanies"; it appears to be related to the edition of Swift's "Miscellanies" in 13 volumes catalogued under 1742-6.

1752

A Supplement to the Works of Dr. Swift. London: Printed for F. Cogan, at the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet-street. 1752.

8vo, pp. viii, 158. B.M., Bodl.

The Dean's Answer to the Inhabitants of St. Patrick.

Printed in Supplement to Swift's Works (1752), pp. 117-8, and in Works, vol. x (Faulkner, 1758), pp. 326-7.

1754

Brotherly Love. A Sermon, Preached in St. Patrick's Church; On December 1st, 1717. By Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-mall; and sold by M. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCLIV. [Price Six-pence.]

[iv. 138

4to, pp. 24. B.M., U.L.C.

Another edition: Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner in Essex-street. MDCCLIV.

8vo, pp. 26. U.L.C.

On Good-Manners and Good-Breeding. [xi. 77

Printed in "Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift." London, W. Reeve, MDCCLIV. (Pp. 295-308.) B.M., Bodl.; and Dublin, R. Main. U.L.C.

The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Accurately revised In Six Volumes, . . . London, Printed for C. Bathurst, . . . MDCCLV. [4to]

The Works . . . In Twelve Volumes, . . . MDCCLV. [8vo]

This handsome edition of Swift's Works was commenced in 1754 or 1755 by the publication of six volumes of the quarto edition, and twelve volumes of the octavo edition in the same size type. Six more volumes (vii, viii, and x to xiii) of the quarto edition, and ten corresponding volumes of the octavo, were issued between 1762 and 1768, volume ix, quarto (which is only partially represented by volume xvii, octavo) in 1775, and the Supplement (volume xiv, quarto, and volumes xxiv and xxv, octavo) in 1776 and 1779. Corresponding editions followed in twenty-seven volumes, small octavo and 18mo, which did not include the pieces contained in the quarto volume of 1775. The volumes of the small octavo edition corresponding to volume vii of the quarto are dated 1762 in the copy at Bodl. and 1766 at the B.M.

It is difficult to fix the date when Dr. Hawkesworth commenced the publication of this edition, as volume i in octavo is dated 1755 on the title-page, but 1754 on the title of "A Tale of a Tub," which occupies the greater part of the volume, and volumes ii to ix are dated 1754, but in the quarto the first six volumes are all dated 1755 on the title, though here also the title-page of "A Tale of a Tub" in volume i bears the date 1754.

4to.		Large 8vo.	Sm. 8vo and 18mo.
Vol. i	1755 arranged by Dr. Hawkesworth.	i ii	i ii
Vol. ii		iii iv	iii iv
Vol. iii		v vi	v vi
Vol. iv		vii viii	vii viii
Vol. v		ix x	ix x
Vol. vi		xi xii	xi xii
Vol. vii	1764. W. Bowyer and G. Faulkner; much of it reprinted from a Dublin edition. Contains Index to vols. i to vii. Part I is dated 1764. Part II is dated 1763.)	xiii xiv	xiii xiv
Vol. viii	1765. Deane Swift.	xv xvi	xv, xvi, xvii, and xviii. Index to vols. i to xviii.

Vol. ix	1775. John Nichols. Contains Indexes to vols. i to xiii.	xvii Indexes to vols. i to xxiii	

N.B. There are several pieces in the quarto vol. ix which are not included in vol. xvii of the octavo edition.

Correspondence. Vol. x (Letters 1 to 246)	1766. Dr. Hawkesworth.	xviii	xix
Correspondence. Vol. xi (Letters 247 to 421)		xix	xx
		xx	xxi
Correspondence. Vol. xii (Letters to Stella, 2 to 40)	1768. Deane Swift.	xxi	xxii
Correspondence. Vol. xiii (Letters 1 to 194 and Tracts)		xxii	xxiii
		xxiii	xxiv
Vol. xiv "Supplement."	1779. J. Nichols.	xxiv (1776)	xxv (1779)	xxv, xxvi and xxvii

Contains Index to vol. xiv.

4to Edition.

B.M., Advoc. (1 to 6 only).

Large 8vo Edition.

B.M. (1 to 23 only), Forster (imperfect), T.C.D.

Small 8vo Edition.

B.M., Bodl. (13 to 17 only), U.L.C. (25 to 27 only), T.C.D. (1 to 24 only), Advoc. (25 to 27 only).

18mo Edition.

1755

An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character, of Dr. Jonathan Swift. . . . By Deane Swift, Esq.; To which is added, That Sketch of Dr. Swift's Life, written by the Doctor himself, . . . London, Printed for Charles Bathurst, at the Cross-Keys, opposite St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. MDCCLV.

8vo, title, pp. 375, 53. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., T.C.D., Advoc.

The autobiographical sketch, called "The Appendix," is sometimes bound at the beginning of the volume.

It was reprinted in a revised form as "Fragment of Autobiography (1667-1699). Anecdotes of the Family of Swift," by Mr. John Forster in his "Life of Jonathan Swift," vol. i. [xi. 367

1756

Satyrische und ernsthafte Schriften, von Dr. Jonathan Swift.

8 vols., 8vo, 1756-66.

Vol. i, 3rd edition, Zurich, 1766, pp. xlviii, 455. B.M.

The preface is signed Johann von Breitenfels, and dated Hamburg, Aug., 1755.

Vol. ii, missing.

Vol. iii, 2nd edition, Hamburg, 1759, pp. [xii], 72, 332. B.M.

Vol. iv, Hamburg, 1760, pp. [xiv], 428. B.M.

Vol. v, Zurich, 1772, pp. [xxii], 500. B.M.

Vol. vi, Hamburg, 1761, pp. [iv], 406. B.M.

Vol. vii, Hamburg, 1763. Title, pp. 412. B.M.

Vol. viii, Hamburg, 1766. Title, pp. 496. B.M.

1758

The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen. By the late Jonathan Swift, D. D. D. S. P. D. . . . London: Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand. MDCCLVIII. [x. 1

8vo, pp. xvi, 392. B.M., Forst., Advoc., U.L.C., G'hall.

The Dublin edition is called: The History of the Last Session of Parliament, and of the Peace of Utrecht. Written at Windsor in the Year, 1713. By the Rev. Dr. J. Swift, D.S.P.D. Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner in Essex-Street, M,DCC,LVIII.

Title from Faulkner's edition of Works, 1772 [1758], vol. ix.

A French translation was published in 1765.

An Answer to the Craftsman Of Dec. 12, 1730. On a very interesting Subject relative to Ireland. [vii. 217

Printed in Faulkner's Edition of Swift's Works, vol. ix, sigs. Y, Z, Aa separate pagination), 1772 [1758].

The following appear to have been first printed in vol. x of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, 1758:

Remarks upon a Book, intituled, The Rights of the Christian Church, &c. Written in the Year 1708, but left unfinished. [iii. 77

Sermons. V. False Witness. VI. Poor Man's Contentment. VII. Causes of Wretched Condition of Ireland. VIII. Sleeping in Church. [iv. 161

Hints towards an Essay on Conversation. [xi. 65

A Letter concerning Mr. Maculla's Project about Copper Notes to pass for Pence and Half-pence; . . .

Printed in vol. x of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, 1758, and reprinted in 1765 in vol. viii of the quarto edition as:

A Letter on Mr. M'Culla's Project about Halfpence, and a New One Proposed. In a Letter to Dr. Delany. [vii. 177

A few pages of the manuscript are in the Forster collection.

1761

The Works of Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Accurately corrected by the best editions. . . . More complete than any preceding edition. In Eight Volumes. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Donaldson, at Pope's Head. MDCCLXI.

12mo. Vol. i contains a Life; vol. viii has an Index; vol. vi has the date misprinted MDCCLIX. B.M.

Previous Scotch editions were issued in 1752 and 1756.

1765

The following writings appear to have been first published in vol. viii, part 1, of the quarto edition, 1765:

Memoirs relating to that Change which happened in the

Queen's Ministry in the Year 1710. [Written in October, 1714.] [v. 359

A manuscript, corrected by Swift, is in the Forster collection.
Pp. 1-24.

Preface to the History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne's Reign. [x. 13

Pp. 25-29.

An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry. [v. 425

Pp. 30-80; it is dated June, 1715.

Some Considerations upon the Consequences hoped and feared from the Death of the Queen. [v. 417

Manuscript in Forster collection.
Pp. 84-87; it is dated Aug. 9th, 1714.

Sermons. IX. Martyrdom of K. Charles I. X. Doing Good. XI. Excellences of Christianity. [iv. 171

Pp. 88-100, 161-169, and 209-219.

An Account of the Court and Empire of Japan. [Written in 1728.] [vii. 382

Pp. 101-110.

A Letter to the Writer of the Occasional Paper. [1727.] [vii. 375

Pp. 111-116.

Of Public Absurdities in England. [xi. 177

Manuscript is in the Forster collection.
Pp. 117-120.

An Abstract of the History of England. [x. 193

Pp. 123-127.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament, in Ireland, upon the Choosing a New Speaker there. Written in the Year 1708. [vii. 1

Manuscript, "Writt in Ireland. Upon the chusing a new Speaker there. 1708 (as I rememb)", is in the Forster collection.
Pp. 128-134.

Some Few Thoughts Concerning the Repeal of the Test. [iv. 102

P. 135.

Maxims Controlled in Ireland—The Truth of some Maxims in State and Government, examined with Reference to Ireland. [vii. 63

Pp. 136-142.

A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures. [Written in 1729.] [vii. 191

Pp. 170-176.

A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, concerning the Weavers. [vii. 135

The autograph, in the Forster collection, is dated "Apr. 1729."
Pp. 177-184.

Answer to several Letters from Unknown Persons. Written in the Year M DCC XXIX. [vii. 117

Manuscript is in the Forster collection.
Pp. 185-191.

An Answer to several Letters sent me from Unknown Hands. [vii. 127

Pp. 192-197.

The Substance of what was said by the Dean of St. Patrick's to the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen, when his Lordship came to present the said Dean with his Freedom in a Gold Box. [vii. 167

Pp. 198-201.

Thoughts on Religion. [iii. 305

Further Thoughts on Religion. [iii. 310

Pp. 202-206.

Upon Giving Badges to the Poor. [vii. 326

The manuscript—dated Sep^tr 26 1726—is in the Forster collection. It is endorsed by the author "About Badges."
Pp. 220-221.

Considerations about Maintaining the Poor. [vii. 337

Pp. 222-225.

[Reasons Humbly Offered] to his Grace William, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, &c. The Humble Representation of the Clergy of the City of Dublin. [iii. 239

Pp. 226-231.

Hints on Good Manners. [xi. 85

Pp. 238-239.

[Resolutions.] When I come to be old. Written in 1699. [i. xcii

The autograph is in the Forster collection.
P. 240.

The History of the Second Solomon. [xi. 151

Pp. 250-254; it is dated 1729.

On the Death of Mrs. Johnson. [xi. 125

Pp. 255-264.

Of the Education of Ladies. [xi. 59

Pp. 265-268.

The following writings appear to have been first published in vol. viii, part 2, of the quarto edition, 1765:

Counterfeit Letter to the Queen. June 22, 1731.

A manuscript, endorsed by Swift, is in the Forster collection.
Pp. 89-90.

Of Mean and Great Figures, made by Several Persons. [xi. 171

Manuscript is in the Forster collection.
Pp. 241-245.

Concerning that Universal Hatred, which prevails against the Clergy. [iii. 299

Pp. 246-249; it is dated May 24, 1736.

On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland. [vii. 343

Pp. 261-265.

1766

Letters, Written by the late Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; and Several of his Friends. . . . By John Hawkesworth, L.L.D. Volume I. London, Printed for R. Davis, in Piccadilly; . . . MDCCLXVI.

8vo, pp. xvi, 520. Letters I to CLXII (including 26 of the "Journal to Stella"). B.M., Forst.

Volume II, pp. viii, 388. Letters CLXIII to CCCX. B.M., Forst.

Volume III, pp. vii, 371. Letters CCCXI to CCCCXXI and Indexes. B.M., Forst.

Letters . . . Friends. . . . By Deane Swift, Esq. of Goodrich, in Herefordshire. Volume IV. London, Printed for C. Bathurst, . . . MDCCLXVIII.

8vo, pp. viii, 400. Letters to Stella, I to XXVI. B.M., Forst. (imperfect).

Volume V, pp. viii, 416. Letters to Stella, XXVII to XL and Correspondence, I to LXXI. B.M., Forst. (imperfect).

Volume VI, pp. viii, 448. Correspondence, LXXII to CXCIV.

"The Answer of the Right Hon. W—m P—y, Esq."

"To the Count de Gyllenborg."

"The Reign of William II—Henry I—Stephen—Henry II, and Henry the Second's Character." B.M., Forst. (imperfect).

N.B.—This edition forms vols. xviii-xxiii of the large 8vo edition of Swift's Works commenced in 1754.

Another Edition: Letters, Written by the late Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and Several of

his Friends. . . . By John Hawkesworth, L.L.D [In three Volumes. A New Edition. Volume I.] [Volume II.] [Volume III.] London, Printed for T. Davies, . . . R. Davis, . . . and J. Dodsley, . . . MDCCLXVI.

8vo, pp. xxxii, 396; viii, 415; viii, 419. B.M.

The Fifth edition. 1767.

3 vols., 8vo. B.M., Bodl.

The Seventh edition, 1768.

Vols. i-iii. Small 8vo. B.M.

The Third edition, 1769.

Vols. iv-vi. Small 8vo. B.M.

Another edition: Letters . . . Hawkesworth, L.L.D. In Three Volumes. A New Edition. Volume I. London, Printed for T. Davies, . . . R. Davis, . . . and J. Dodsley, . . . MDCCLXIX.

8vo, pp. xxxii, 396. Letters I to XCIX, and Contents. B.M., Forst. (imperfect).

Vol. II, pp. viii, 415. Letters C to CCLXXVII. B.M., Forst. (imperfect).

Vol. III, pp. viii, 419. Letters CCLXXVIII to CCCCXI, and Index, and translations of eight letters printed in French. B.M., Forst. (imperfect).

N.B.—The differences between the contents of these editions are not so great as these figures would imply, both editions being incorrectly numbered.

The Journal to Stella. [vol. ii.

Letters 1 and 41 to 65 were first published by Dr. Hawkesworth in vol. x of Swift's Works, 1766.

Letters 2 to 40 were first published by Deane Swift in vol. xii of Swift's Works, 1768.

They were collected in Sheridan's edition (1784), where Letters 1 to 18 (misprinted "xiv") are included in vol. xiv (pp. 201-404), and Letters 19 to end form the whole of vol. xv. The next letter after Letter xl is numbered lviii, and there are other errors.

1767

An Appendix to Dr. Swift's Works and Literary Correspondence. Improved From an Edition printing by Mr. Faulkner: And now first published, April 1767. London, Printed for W. B. and sold by S. Bladon, in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCLXVII.

8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 32. B.M., Bodl.

The following writings first appeared in this volume:

Some Thoughts on Freethinking. [iii. 193

Observations on Heylin's History of the Presbyterians. [iii. 319

[Aerius Redivivus: or, The History of the Presbyterians. . . . By Peter Heylyn D.D. . . . Oxford, 1670.]

1768

The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. With The Author's Life and Character; . . . More complete than any preceding Edition. In Thirteen Volumes. . . . Edinburgh: Printed by Alexander Donaldson. Sold at his Shop, N° 48, East corner of St. Paul's Church-yard, London; and at Edinburgh. M.DCC.LXVIII.

12mo. Vol. i contains a Life; vol. x, Index, 1-10; vol. xiii, Index, 11-13. B.M.

The following writings appear to have been first published in vol. xiii of the quarto edition, 1768:

The Answer of the Right Honourable W—m P—y, Esquire, to the Right Honourable Sir R—t W—e. [Dated Oct. 15, 1730.] [vii. 392

Pp. 245-252.

To the Count De Gyllenborg. [Dated Nov. 2, 1719.] [x. 195

Pp. 253-254.

The Reign of William the Second. [x. 202

The Reign of Henry the First. [x. 217

The Reign of Stephen. [x. 238

The Reign of Henry the Second. [x. 265

Pp. 255-320.

1773

[The British Poets, vols. 31 and 32.] Poems of Dr. Jonathan Swift, . . . Volume I. [Volume II.] Edinburgh: Printed for J. Balfour and W. Creech. M,DCC,LXXIII.

16mo, pp. vii, 208; vi, 208. B.M.
Only a selection.

1774

Poems of Dr. Jonathan Swift, . . . in Two Volumes. Vol. I. [Vol. II.] Glasgow: Printed by Robert & Andrew Foulis, Printers to the University, M.DCC.LXXIV.

24mo, pp. [iv], 188; [iv], 172. B.M.
Only a selection.

1778

The Poetical Works of Dr. Jonath. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. In Four Volumes. With the Life of the Author. . . . Edinburg [*sic*]: at the Apollo Press, by the Martins. Anno 1778.

24mo, pp. 216, 247, 233, 209. B.M., Dyce.
N.B. The engraved titles have the imprint: "Printed for John Bell near Exeter Exchange Strand London . . . 1778." [With various dates from June 4 to July 1.]

1779

Swift's "Remarks" on the two following books were first printed in vol. xiv of the quarto edition, 1779.

Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq; During the Reigns of King William, . . . London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXXIII.

[Swift's "Remarks" are in x. 271-288.

8vo, 4 leaves, pp. lvi, 254, xxxvii, and 9 pages of Contents. B.M., Forst.

The copy in the Grenville collection has a transcript of Swift's notes by Isaac Reed from a copy taken by John Putland. Many of these "Characters" with Swift's "Remarks" are printed in vol. xiv (1779) of the quarto edition of Swift's Works, at pp. 731-732, and in the notes throughout the volume.

The First Fifteen Psalms of David, Translated into Lyric Verse. . . . By Dr. Gibbs. London: Printed by J. Matthews, for John Hartley, over-against Gray's-Inn, in Holborn. M D CC I.

[Swift's "Remarks" are in iv. 231.

4to, 6 leaves, pp. 35, 5. B.M., U.L.C.
Manuscript presented to Earl of Chesterfield.
Transcript by W. Dunkin is in the Forster collection.
Pp. 767-771.

The Works of the English Poets. With Prefaces, . . . by Samuel Johnson. . . . [Vol. 39, Swift's Poems, vol. 1, and vol. 40, Swift's Poems, vol. 2, 1779.]

8vo, pp. [iv], 368; [iv], 384. B.M.

The "Preface" is in "Prefaces, Volume the Eighth. . . . M DCC LXXXI."

8vo, pp. 112. B.M.

Another edition: Vols. 42, 43, and 44. Swift [and Broome] in 3 volumes. 1790.

8vo, pp. [iv], 319; [iv], 319; [iv], 309; Swift ends on p. 129 of vol. iii. B.M.

1784

The Works of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Arranged, Revised, and Corrected, with Notes, By Thomas Sheridan, A.M. A New Edition, in Seventeen Volumes. London: Printed for C. Bathurst, . . . M DCC LXXXIV.

Vol. i contains "The Life of Doctor Swift." There is no index. 8vo. B.M., U.L.C.

1789

Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose and Verse. By the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Not inserted in Mr. Sheridan's edition of the Dean's Works. London: Printed for C. Dilly, in the Poultry. MDCCLXXXIX.

8vo, pp. viii, 262. B.M., Forst., Bodl., Advoc., U.L.C.
Contains 32 letters, 6 "Intelligencers," a few poems, "Observations . . . Woollen Manufacturers," "Free-thinking: a Fragment," and "On the Bill for the Clergy's Residing."

The following are the full titles of the tracts of which no earlier publication has been found:

Observations Occasioned by reading a Paper, entitled, The Case of the Woollen Manufacturers of Dublin. [1729?] [vii. 145

Pp. 127-131.

On the Bill for the Clergy's Residing on their Livings. [Feb., 1731-2.] [iii. 249

Pp. 135-143.

Literary Relics: containing Original Letters from . . . Swift, . . . To which is prefixed, An Inquiry into the Life of Dean Swift. By George-Monck Berkeley, Esq; . . London: Printed for C. Elliot and T. Kay, N° 332.

Strand; And C. Elliot Parliament Square, Edinburgh. M,DCC,LXXXIX.

8vo, pp. lvi, 415. B.M., U.L.C.
Contains 7 of Swift's Letters.

Second edition, 1792.

8vo, same collation. U.L.C.

1790

Dean Swift's Tracts on the Repeal of the Test Act, . . . London: Re-printed at the Logographic Press; and sold by J. Walter, N° 169, opposite Bond Street, Piccadilly. M.DCC.XC.

8vo, pp. [iv], 50. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

The Sermons of Dr. J. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. To which is prefixed The Author's Life: together with his Prayer for Stella, his Thoughts on, and Project for the Advancement of Religion. . . . London: Sold by R. Dampier, J. Thompson, W. Manson, T. Davidson, and P. Watson. [1790?] [iv. 107

2 vols. 8vo, pp. lix, 192; iv, 231. No date. B.M.
The Sermons are: I. Mutual Subjection; II. Testimony of Conscience; III. The Trinity; IV. Difficulty of Knowing One's Self; V. False Witness; VI. Poor Man's Contentment; VII. Causes of Wretched Condition of Ireland; VIII. Sleeping in Church; IX. Martyrdom of K. Charles I; X. Doing Good; XI. Excellence of Christianity.
Twelve Sermons are printed in vol. iv of this edition of Swift. The one not included in Dampier's edition is that on Brotherly Love, which was published separately in 1754.

1795

Remarks on Bishop Burnet's "History of his Own Time." [Swift's "Remarks" are in x. 325-368.

[Bishop Burnet's "History of His Own Time." 2 volumes. 1724-1734.]

Copious extracts from Swift's "Remarks" were first printed in *The European Magazine*, January, 1795, to February, 1796. They were given in a fairly complete form in the footnotes to the edition of Burnet, edited by M. J. R[outh], 6 vols., Oxford, 1823.

1801

The Works of the Rev. Jonathan Swift, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Arranged by Thomas Sheridan, A.M. With Notes, Historical and Critical. A New Edition, in Nineteen Volumes; corrected and revised by John Nichols, F.S.A. Edinburgh and Perth. London: Printed for J. Johnson, . . . 1801.

8vo. Vol. i contains Life by Sheridan; vol. xix contains General Index. B.M., Forst.

Another edition, 1803, in 24 vols.

18mo.

Another edition, 1808, in 19 vols.

8vo. This edition contains a long "General Preface," and an "Essay on the Earlier Part of Swift's Life," by Dr. Barrett. Forst.

The following was first included in this edition:

Advertisement by Dr. Swift, in his Defence against Joshua, Lord Allen. Feb. 18, 1729-30. [vii. 173

Vol. xiii, p. 471.

1804

Swiftiana. Vol. I. [Vol. II.] . . . Printed for Richard Phillips, 71, St. Pauls Church Yard. 1804.

Small 8vo, pp. xxxii, 208; 237. With several facsimiles. B.M., Dyce, Forst.

1806-7

The Poetical Works of Jonathan Swift; . . . by Thomas Park, Esq. F.S.A. In Four Volumes. . . . London: Printed at the Stanhope Press, by Charles Whittingham, . . . 1806-7.

16mo, pp. 166; 167; 173; 150. B.M.
This edition contains Deane Swift's "Criticism."

1814

The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; Containing Additional Letters, Tracts, and Poems, not hitherto published; with Notes, and A Life of the Author, by Walter Scott, Esq. Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co. Edinburgh; . . . 1814.

19 vols., 8vo. Vol. i contains Scott's "Life"; vols. ii to x contain the Prose Writings, vols. x to xv the Poems, and vols. xv to xix the Correspondence. Vol. xix has an Index. B.M., Advoc., U.L.C.

The following pieces were first published in this edition:

Notes on Addison's Freeholder. [The Free-Holder, or Political Essays. 55 numbers, Dec. 23, 1715 to June 29, 1716.]

[Swift's "Notes" are in x. 370-377.

Vol. x, pp. 197-205.

Remarks on Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. [The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England . . . by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Folio, 3 vols., 1702-4.]

[Swift's "Remarks" are in x. 289-323.

Vol. x, pp. 207-249.

Memorial to the Queen. April 15, 1714. [v. 477

Vol. xvi, p. 178.

1822

[The British Poets. Vols. 37 to 39.] The Poems of Jonathan Swift. Vol. I. [Vol. II. Vol. III.] Chiswick: From the Press of C. Whittingham, College House. [1822]

8vo, pp. 250, 252, 252; Swift ends on p. 206 of vol. iii. B.M. Contains Johnson's "Life" and Deane Swift's "Criticism."

1823-5

The Select Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. . . . In Five Volumes, embellished with [fifteen] engravings. London: Printed for Hector M^c^Lean [*sic*]. 1825. [The engravings are dated "1823."]

12mo. B.M.

Vol. i contains Life of Dr. Swift, "Tale of a Tub," "Battle of the Books," "Mechanical Operation of the Spirit," "Fates of Clergymen," "Letter to a Very Young Lady," "Swearer's Bank," and "Thoughts on Various Subjects."

Vol. ii (dated 1823) contains "Gulliver's Travels."

Vol. iii contains "Directions to Servants," "Polite Conversation," "Art of Punning," "Execution of William Wood," "Modest Proposal," "Meditation upon a Broomstick," "Remarks on Gibbs's Psalms," "Argument against abolishing Christianity," "Story of the Injured Lady," Answer to *ditto*, and some shorter pieces.

Vols. iv and v contain the Poetical Works, with a "Criticism on Dr. Swift's Poems," by Deane Swift.

Another edition, 1826.

B.M.

1824

The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; containing Additional Letters, Tracts, and Poems, not hitherto published; with Notes, and A Life of the Author, by Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co.

Edinburgh: and Hurst, Robinson, and Co. London. 1824.

8vo, 19 vols. Vol. i contains Scott's Life, vols. ii to xiii contain the Prose Writings, vols. x and xii to xv the Poems, and vols. xv to xix the Correspondence. Vol. xix has an Index. B.M., Forst., Dyce, T.C.D., Bodl., G'hall.

The following were first included in this edition:

Irish Eloquence. [vii. 361

Vol. vii, pp. 154-155.

A Dialogue in Hibernian Style, Between A and B. [vii. 362

Vol. vii, pp. 156-157.

An Evening Prayer. [iii. 315

Vol. ix, pp. 302-306.

1833-4

The Poetical Works of Jonathan Swift. [With Life by Mitford.] [Aldine Edition.] . . . London William Pickering. Vol. 1 and vol. 2, 1833. Vol. 3, 1834.

8vo, pp. cxiv, 256; viii, 358; viii, 368.
B.M., Dyce, U.L.C.

Another edition, 3 vols, 1853.

Forst.

Another edition: Bell and Daldy Fleet Street 1866.

B.M., T.C.D., Advoc., U.L.C.

1841

The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D., and Dean of Saint Patrick's, Dublin: containing Interesting and Valuable Papers, not hitherto published. In Two Volumes. With Memoir of the Author, by Thomas Roscoe. . . . London: Henry Washbourne, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street. 1841.

No Index.
Rl. 8vo, pp. lxxxiv, 844; iv, 854. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D.

1844

Swift's humoristische Werke. Aus dem Englischen . . . von Dr. Franz Kottenkamp . . . Erster Band: Vermischte prosaische Schriften. Zweiter Band: Das Mährchen als Tonne.—Aphorismen.—Gedichte.—Biographie. Dritter Band: Gulliver's Reisen. Stuttgart: Scheible, Rieger & Sattler. 1844.

8vo, pp. viii, 384; vi, 318; iv, 421. B.M.

1859

Opuscules Humoristiques de Swift Traduits pour la première Fois par Léon de Wailly. Paris Poulet-Malassis et de Broise Imprimeurs-Libraires-Éditeurs 9, rue des Beaux-Arts 1859 Reproduction réservée.

8vo, pp. xxii, 286. B.M.

Table.

Instructions aux domestiques. [Without "Inns" or "Laws."
Lettre d'avis à un jeune poète.
Lettre à une très-jeune personne.
Traité sur les bonnes manières.
Résolutions pour l'époque où je deviendrai vieux.
Révues, défectuosités, calamités et infortunes de Quilca.
Modeste proposition pour empêcher les enfants.
Prédictions pour l'année 1708.
Dernières paroles d'Ebenezer Elliston.
Méditation sur un balai.
Irréfutable essai sur les facultés de l'âme.
Pensées sur divers sujets.

1876

The Choice Works of Dean Swift in Prose and Verse. . . . London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly. 1876.

8vo, pp. lxxxii, 678. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

1882

The Holyhead Journal, 1727. [xi. 391

Edited by Mr. J. Churton Collins, in "The Gentleman's Magazine," June, 1882, and by Sir H. Craik, in his "Life of Swift," published in the same year. The autograph is in the Forster collection.

1884

Selections from the Prose Writings of Jonathan Swift With a Preface and Notes by Stanley Lane-Poole London Kegan Paul, Trench & Co MDCCCLXXXIIII

8vo, pp. xxx, 284. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

1885

Letters and Journals of Jonathan Swift selected and edited with a commentary and notes by Stanley Lane-Poole London Kegan Paul, Trench & Co MDCCCLXXXV

8vo, pp. xv, 292. B.M., Bodl.

Dr. S. L. Poole has fixed the date of Stella's birth as March 13, 1680-1. (*See* his note on p. 287.)

1889

The Tale of a Tub and Other Works by Jonathan Swift Edited by Henry Morley, LL.D. Routledge, 1889. The First Volume of the Carisbrooke library.

8vo, pp. 448. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

1890

Gulliver's Travels A Tale of a Tub etc. By Jonathan Swift, D.D. London Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly 1890.

8vo, pp. iv, 285. B.M.

This is a reprint of pp. 1-285 of Sw ft's Choice Works, 1876.

1892-3

Swift Selections from his Works edited with Life, Introductions, and Notes by Henry Craik In Two Volumes Oxford At the Clarendon Press [Vol. i 1892 Vol. ii 1893]

8vo, pp. viii, 476; iv, 488. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

1897-1908

The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D. With a Biographical Introduction by W. E. H. Lecky, M.P. Vol I London George Bell and Sons 1897

Edited by Temple Scott; 12 volumes, 1897-1908. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

1899

Unpublished Letters of Dean Swift Edited by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., LL.D. Unwin, 1899.

(Letters to Knightley Chetwood, Esq.)
8vo, pp. xxvii, 269. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.
Manuscript (not autograph) in Forster collection.

1906

Gulliver's Travels and other Works by Jonathan Swift Exactly Reprinted from the First Edition. . . . London George Routledge and Sons, Limited New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1906.

8vo, pp. 445. B.M., U.L.C.

1704

The Fairy Feast, Written by the Author of A Tale of a Tub, and the Mully of Mountown. London: Printed in the Year, 1704. [By Dr. W. King.]

Folio, pp. 12, no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "As Poets say, one Orpheus went."

This is reprinted, under the title of "Orpheus and Euridice," in the following: Some Remarks on the Tale of a Tub. To which are annexed Mully of Mountown, and Orpheus and Euridice. By the Author of the Journey to London. London: Printed for A. Baldwin in Warwick-lane, 1704.

8vo, 5 leaves, pp. 63. B.M., Bodl.

1706

The Swan Tripe-Club In Dublin. A Satyr. Dedicated To all those who are true Friends. . . . Printed at Dublin, and Sold by the Booksellers in London and Westminster, MDCCVI. Price 4*d*.

Quarto, pp. 20. B.M.

The London edition is called: The Tripe Club. A Satyr. Dedicated To All Those who are True Friends. . . . By the Author of the Tale of a Tub. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Grays-Inn-Gate; And Sold by the Booksellers of London, and Westminster. M DCC VI.

4to, pp. 20. B.M.
Begins: "How this Fantastick World is chang'd of late."

Another edition: The Swan Tripe-Club: A Satyr, on the High-Flyers; In the Year 1705. . . . London: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1710.

8vo, pp. 16. Forst.

1708

An Answer to Bickerstaff. Some Reflections upon Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions for the Year M DCC VIII. By a Person of Quality.

Title taken from Works, 4to edition, vol. viii, 1765.

Squire Bickerstaff Detected; or, the Astrological Impostor Convicted, by John Partridge, Student in Physick and Astrology.

8vo, pp. 8; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

A Trip to Dunkirk: Or, A Hue and Cry After the Pretended Prince of Wales. Being a Panegyrick on the Descent. London: Printed, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1708.

4to, pp. 14. B.M.
Begins: "Why, hark ye me, Sirs,——if this Rumour holds true."

1710

Bickerstaff's Almanack: or, a Vindication of the Stars, From all the False Imputations, and Erroneous Assertions, of the late John Partridge, and all other Mistaken Astrologers whatever. . . . For the Year 1710. . . . By Isaac Bickerstaff Esq; . . . London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, Anno Æræ Christianæ 1710.

8vo, pp. 47 (not paged). B.M., Bodl.

A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub; With some Account of the Authors, . . . London: Printed for Edmund Curll. . . . 1710. Price 6*d.*

8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 36. B.M., Bodl.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies" [Curll], 1711.

1711

A True Narrative Of what pass'd at the Examination Of the Marquis De Guiscard, at the Cock-pit, The 8th of March, $17\frac{10}{11}$, His stabbing Mr. Harley, and Other precedent. . . . London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1711. Price 6*d.*

8vo, pp. 43. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

The British Visions: or, Isaac Bickerstaff's Twelve Prophecies for the Year 1711.

8vo, pp. 23; no place or printer's name. B.M., U.L.C., Advoc.

Another edition: London (repr.) 1711; printed first in the north.

T.C.D.

The Reasons Which induc'd Her Majesty To Create the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq; a Peer of Great-Britain. London: Printed for J. Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1711. Price Two-pence.

4to, pp. 8 (Latin and English facing). B.M., Bodl.
Another edition. Same title and collation (Latin on pp. 3, 4, 5; English on pp. 6, 7, 8). B.M.

The D. of M——h's Vindication: In Answer to a Pamphlet Lately Publish'd, call'd [Bouchain, or a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner.] London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationer's Hall, 1711. (Price 2*d.*)

8vo, pp. 16. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D., Advoc.

Second Edition, 1711.
T.C.D.

Third Edition, 1712.

Cursory but Curious Observations of Mr. Ab[e]l R[op]er, Upon a late Famous Pamphlet, entituled, Remarks on the Preliminary Articles . . . General Peace. London: Printed for John Morphew near Stationers-Hall, 1711. (Price 3*d.*)
8vo., pp. 19. B.M.

The Windsor Prophecy, Found in a Marlborough Rock. London: Printed in the Year, 1711. Price One Penny.
Broadside; no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "In an old Rock, as Stories go."
N.B.—This is not the same as "The W—ds—r Prophecy," entered among the authentic writings.

A True Relation Of the several Facts and Circumstances Of the intended Riot and Tumult on Queen Elizabeth's Birth-day. . . . London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1711. Price 2*d.*
8vo, pp. 16. B.M., Advoc., Bodl., G'hall.

Second Edition, 1711.
Bodl., T.C.D.

Another edition: London, Printed for John Morphew: And Edinburgh Re-printed by James Watson, and Sold at his Shop, next Door to the Red-Lyon, opposite to the Lucken-Booths. 1711.
8vo, pp. 16. B.M.

1712

Predictions For the Year, 1712. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; in a Letter to the Author of the Oxford Almanack. Printed in the Year, 1712. (Price Two Pence.)
8vo, pp. 16. B.M., G'hall., T.C.D.

The Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost, or the Apparition of Mother Haggy. Collected from the best Manuscripts. . . . London: Printed in the Year 1712 [By W. Wagstaffe.]

8vo, pp. 16; no printer's name. B.M., Bodl., G'hall.

Third Edition, 1712.

B.M.

Fourth Edition, 1712.

Forst., T.C.D.

Fifth Edition, 1712.

B.M.

Another edition: Printed in the Year MDCXII [*sic*].

8vo, pp. 8; no printer's name. B.M.

A Fable of the Widow and her Cat. Printed in the Year MDCCXII. [Attributed to M. Prior.]

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "A Widow kept a Favourite Cat."
Reprinted in Swift's Works, 4to edition, vol. xiv, 1779.

The Fable of the Shepherd and his Dog. In Answer to the Fable of the Widow and her Cat. London: Printed in the Year, M DCC XII.

Broadside; no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "An Honest Shepherd on the Wolds."

The New Way of Selling Places at Court. In a Letter from a Small Courtier to a Great Stock-Jobber. . . . London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationer's-Hall, 1712. Price *2d.*

8vo. pp. 15. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

Law is a Bottomless-Pit. Exemplify'd in the Case of The Lord Strutt, John Bull, . . . Printed from a Manuscript

found in the Cabinet of the famous Sir Humphry Polesworth. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationer's-Hall, 1712. Price 3*d*. [By Dr. Arbuthnot.]

8vo, pp. 24. Lambeth.

Second Edition, 1712.

B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

Third Edition, 1712.

Forst., Bodl.

Fourth Edition, 1712.

B.M., U.L.C., Bodl., G'hall., T.C.D.

Sixth Edition, 1712.

Forst., Bodl., T.C.D., Advoc.

Edinburgh edition: London, Printed; and Edinburgh Reprinted by James Watson, . . . 1712.

8vo, pp. 30. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies," vol. ii, 1727.

John Bull In His Senses: being the Second Part. . . . London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationer's-Hall, 1712. Price 3*d*.

8vo, pp. 24. B.M.

Second Edition, 1712.

B.M., U.L.C., Advoc.

Third Edition, 1712.

B.M., Forst., Bodl., G'hall., T.C.D., Advoc.

Fourth Edition, 1712.

B.M., Forst., Bodl.

Edinburgh reprint, 1712.

Bodl., Advoc.

John Bull Still In His Senses: being the Third Part . . . 1712. Price 6*d*.

8vo, pp. 47. Forst., Bodl., G'hall., Advoc.

Second Edition, 1712.

B.M., T.C.D.

Third Edition, 1712.

B.M., Forst., Bodl., Advoc.

Edinburgh reprint, 1712.

Bodl., Advoc.

An Appendix to John Bull Still In His Senses: or, Law is a Bottomless-Pit. . . . London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationer's-Hall, 1712. Price 3*d*.

8vo, pp. 22. B.M., Forst., Bodl., Advoc.

Second Edition, 1712.

B.M.

Third Edition, 1712.

B.M., Forst.

Fourth Edition, 1712.

Advoc.

Lewis Baboon Turned Honest, and John Bull Politician. Being The Fourth Part . . . 1712. Price 6*d*.

8vo., pp. [viii], 37. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., Advoc.

Second Edition, 1712.

8vo, pp. 45. Forst., Bodl., Advoc.

Edinburgh reprint, 1712.

Advoc.

A French translation was published in 1754.

Proposals For Printing A very Curious Discourse, in Two Volumes in Quarto, Intitled, Ψευδολογία Πολιτικὴ; Or, a Treatise of the Art of Political Lying, with An Abstract of the First Volume of the said Treatise. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1712. Price 3*d*.

8vo, pp. 22. B.M., U.L.C., G'hall.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies," vol. ii (1727), and in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume" (1747), where it is said to be by Dr. Arbuthnot.

French translation published in 1733.

1713

An Essay on National Rewards; Being a Proposal for bestowing them on a Plan more durable and respectable. The Guardian Numb. xcvi. Wednesday, July 1. 1713.

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. x (1758), and called "From The Guardian."

The Character of Richard St—le, Esq; With some Remarks. By Toby, Abel's Kinsman; . . . London, Printed for J. Morphew near Stationer's-Hall, 1713. Price 6*d*. [Attributed to W. Wagstaffe.]

8vo, half-title, front., title, pp. 32. B.M., Forst.

The Second Edition corrected. Same date and collation.

B.M., Bodl.

The Fourth Edition. Same date and collation.

Lambeth.

The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris, Concerning the strange and deplorable Frenzy of Mr. John Denn— An Officer of the Custom-house: . . . London: Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall, 1713. Price 3*d*.

Sm. 8vo, pp. 24. B.M., Lambeth.

1714

A Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy Expressed by a Certain Sett of People, upon the Spreading of a Report of Her Majesty's Death. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. 1714. Price 3*d.*

8vo, pp. 24. B.M., Bodl., Advoc.

A Letter From the Facetious Doctor Andrew Tripe, at Bath, To the Venerable Nestor Ironside . . . London, Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall, 1714. Price 6*d.*

8vo, title, pp. 27. B.M., Forst.

The Conduct of the Purse of Ireland: in a Letter to a Member Of the Late Oxford Convocation. . . . London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-lane. 1714. Price 6*d.*

8vo, pp. iv, 52. (*N.B.*—The last four pages are numbered 41, 42, 43, 44.) B.M., U.L.C., Bodl., T.C.D.

An Hue and Cry after Dr. S——t; Occasion'd by a True and Exact Copy of Part of his own Diary, . . . The Second Edition. London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-lane. 1714. [v. 480.

8vo, pp. 23. Forst., Bodl.
Includes A Copy of Verses: "To Day this Temple gets a D——n."

Third Edition, with Additions, 1714.

8vo, pp. 23. B.M., Forst., U.L.C.

Sixth Edition, 1714.

T.C.D.

A farther Hue and Cry after Dr. Sw—t. Being A Collection of Curious Pieces found since his Departure. viz. . . . Publish'd from the original Manuscripts. By Timothy Brocade, Esq; Late Author of the Examiner. . . . The

Second Edition. London: Printed for A. Boulter. MDCCXIV. Price 6*d.*

8vo, pp. 16. Bodl.

An Inquiry into the Miscarriages of the Four Last Years Reign. . . . London: Printed for the Author, and are to be Sold at Mr. Robinson's, a Looking-Glass Shop, over against Serjeants-Inn, Fleetstreet. 1714. (Price Three Pence, on Royal Paper 6*d.*) [Attributed to C. Povey.]

8vo, pp. 32. B.M., T.C.D., Bodl.

Second, Third, Sixth, and Eighth editions. 1714.

B.M.

Another edition: An Enquiry . . . London: Printed for the Author; and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1714. Price Three Pence.

8vo, pp. 32. B.M.

Another edition: An Inquiry into the Miscarriages of the Last Four Years Reign. . . . London: Printed by R. Mathard near Fleetstreet. For the Benefit of the Publick. Price 2*d.*

8vo, pp. 24; no date. B.M.

The Management of the Four last Years Vindicated: . . . Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers Hall, 1714. (Price Six-pence.) [Signed C. B.]

8vo, pp. 48. B.M., U.L.C., Advoc., Bodl.

Essays Divine, Moral, and Political: Viz. . . . By the Author of the Tale of a Tub, sometime the Writer of the Examiner, and the Original Inventor of the Band-Box-Plot. . . . London: Printed in the Year, 1714. [Price One Shilling.]

8vo, title, pp. xiv, 82; no printer's name. B.M., Forst., Bodl., U.L.C., T.C.D., Advoc.

1715

Dr. S——'s Real Diary; being A True and Faithful Account of himself, for that Week, . . . Hue and Cry. . . . London, Printed: And Sold by R. Burleigh in Amen-Corner, near Pater-Noster-Row. 1715.

8vo, pp. [xii], 26. B.M., Advoc.

The Dignity, Use and Abuse of Glass-Bottles. Set forth in A Sermon Preach'd to an Illustrious Assembly, And now Publish'd for the Use of the Inferiour Clergy. By the Author of the Tale of a Tub. London: Printed, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1715.

8vo, pp. 24. U.L.C., Bodl., Forst. (imperfect copy, wanting last leaf).

Another edition: An Ingenious and Learned Discourse, being a Sermon preached to a Congregation of Glass Bottles. Third Edition, 1752.

Title of this edition taken from Swift's Works, vol. xiv, 4to edition, 1779.

1716

Saint Patrick's Purgatory: or, Dr. S——t's Expostulation With his Distressed Friends in the Tower and elsewhere. . . . London, Printed: And Sold by R. Burleigh in Amen-Corner. MDCCXVI.

8vo, 11 leaves, pp. 26. B.M.

God's Revenge against Punning. Shewing the miserable Fates of Persons addicted to this Crying Sin, in Court and Town. London: Printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford-Arms in in [*sic*] Warwick-Lane. 1716. [Price 2*d.*] [Signed J. Baker, Knight.]

Printed on a half-sheet. B.M.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," 1732.

A Full and True Account of a Horrid and Barbarous Revenge by Poison, On the Body of Mr. Edmund Curll, Bookseller; With a faithful Copy of his Last Will and Testament. Publish'd by an Eye Witness. . . . Sold by J. Roberts, J. Morphew, R. Burleigh, J. Baker, and S. Popping. Price Three Pence. [Attributed to Pope.]

Folio, pp. 6; no date. B.M.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," 1732.

A further Account of the most Deplorable Condition of Mr. Edmund Curll, Bookseller, since his being poison'd on March 28. London. 1716. [Attributed to Pope.]

8vo, T.C.D.
Title taken from T.C.D. Catalogue.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," 1732.

A Strange but True Relation how Edmund Curll, of Fleet-street, Stationer, . . . was circumcis'd. . . . [Attributed to Pope.]

Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," 1732.

1718

A Dedication to a Great Man, Concerning Dedications. Discovering, Amongst other wonderful Secrets, . . . London: Printed for James Roberts, in Warwick-Lane. 1718. Price 6*d*. [Attributed to Thomas Gordon.]

8vo, pp. 32. G'hall.

The Second Edition, 1718.

B.M.

The Third Edition, 1718.

B.M., Bodl.

The Fourth Edition, 1719.

B.M.

The Sixth Edition, 1719.

B.M., U.L.C.

The Sixth Edition Corrected. With a Preface. Dublin: Printed by James Carson, for Joseph Leathley at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, in Dame's-Street, 1719.

8vo, pp. 24. B.M.
French translation published in 1726.

1719

Ars Pun-ica, sive Flos Linguarum: The Art of Punning; or, the Flower of Languages; In Seventy-Nine Rules: for the Farther Improvement of Conversation and Help of Memory. By the Labour and Industry of Tom Pun-Sibi. (i.e.) Jonathan Swift, D.D. . . . The Second Edition. Printed at Dublin in the Year 1719. Reprinted at London for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. (Price One Shilling.)

8vo, 5 leaves, pp. xiii, 27, and 4 pages not numbered. B.M., Forst.

Third Edition, 1719.

Bodl.
Reprinted in Swift's "Miscellanies," 1722, and in Ruddiman's "Collection of Scarce . . . Pieces," 1773.

A Letter From the Facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe at Bath, To his Loving Brother The Profound Greshamite, Shewing, That the Scribendi Cacoethes is a Distemper . . . The Second Edition. London, Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall, 1719. Price Six Pence. [By Dr. W. Wagstaffe.]

8vo, pp. 48. B.M.

The Third Edition, 1719.

8vo, pp. 48. Bodl.
N.B.—This is quite different from his "Letter to Nestor Ironside," published in 1714.

1720

D——n S——t's Prologue to Hyppolitus, Spoken by a Boy of Six Years Old.

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Ye Sons of Athens, Grant me one Request."

Duke upon Duke, &c.

Folio, pp. 4; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "To Lordlings Proud I tune my Song."

A Defence of English Commodities. Being an Answer to the Proposal For the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures, and Utterly rejecting and renouncing every Thing that is Wearable that comes from England. . . . Written by Dean Swift. Printed at Dublin: And Reprinted at London, by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXX. Price 6*d*.

8vo, 2 leaves, pp. 28. B.M., U.L.C., Bodl., G'hall.

1721

The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders [qy. Dublin].

4to, pp. 4; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M.

Another edition: The Wonderfull Wonder of Wonders; Being an Accurate Description of the Birth, Education, Manner of Living, Religion, Politicks, Learning, &c. of mine A——se. By Dr. Sw——ft. With a Preface. . . . The Second Edition. London: Printed from the Original Copy from Dublin, and Sold by T. Bickerton, at the Crown in Pater-Noster-Row. 1721. Pr. 4*d*.

8vo, pp. x, 16. Forst., Bodl.

Another edition: London: Printed in the Year MDCCXXII.

8vo, pp. 14. B.M., Forst.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," 1732; and in "Miscellanies. The Second Volume," 1747, where it is said to be "By Dr. Swift."

Another edition: The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders: or The Hole-History. . . . Being An Accurate Description of the Birth, . . . By Dr. S——t. With a Preface, and some few Notes, . . . The Fifth Edition. London; Printed from the Original Copy from Dublin, and Sold by A. Moore near St. Paul's. M.DCC.XXII. (Price Four-Pence.)

8vo, pp. x, 16. B.M.

The Sixth Edition. 1722.

8vo, pp. 24. B.M.

The Blunderful Blunder of Blunders. Being an Answer to the Wonderful Wonder of Wonders. [qy. Dublin.]

4to, pp. 4; no place, date, or printer's name. B.M.

Another edition: Corke [*sic*]: Printed by George Bennett.

4to, pp. 4; no date. B.M.

Another edition: By Dr. Sw——ft. . . . London: Printed from the Original Copies from Dublin, and Sold by T. Bickerton, at the Crown in Pater-Noster-Row. 1721. (Pr. 4*d*.)

8vo, pp. 20. Forst.
Second Edition. Advoc.

Subscribers to the Bank Plac'd according to Their Order and Quality. With Notes and Queries. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble Street. [vii. 49.

Printed on a half-sheet, no date. B.M., Abp. Marsh.

A Letter from a Lady in Town to her Friend in the Country, concerning the Bank; or, The List of the Subscribers farther Explained. Dated Dublin, Dec., 1, 1721.

Reprinted in Scott's edition of Swift's Works, vol. i, 1814. Title taken from Scott. Abp. Marsh.

1723

A Supplement to Dean Sw——t's Miscellanies: By the Author. Containing, I. A Letter to the Students of both Universities, . . . II. An Essay upon an Apothecary. III. An Account of a surprizing Apparition, October 20. 1722. London: Printed for A. Moore, near St. Paul's, 1723. [Price 6*d*.]

8vo, pp. 32. B.M.

Memoirs of the Life of Scriblerus. . . . By D. S——t. London: Printed from the Original Copy from Dublin; and Sold by A. Moore near St. Paul's. MDCCXXIII.

8vo, pp. 27. B.M., U.L.C.

To[1] the King's Most Excellent Majesty, The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Parliament Assembled. Dublin: Printed by Samuel Fairbrother, Printer (by Order) to the Honourable House of Commons of Ireland. 1723. [Address voted Sept. 27, 1723.]

Broadside. Forst.
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. vii-9.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The Humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled. [With the King's Most Gracious Answer.] Dublin: Printed by Andrew Crooke, . . . at the King's-Arms in Copper-Alley, 1723. [Address voted Sept. 28, 1723.]

Printed on a half-sheet. B.M.
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. x-11.

Another edition: Dublin Re-printed by G. N. MDCCXXV.

Broadside. B.M.

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[1] This list of contemporary publications having reference to Wood's halfpence has been made as complete as possible, without suggesting that every separate piece has ever been attributed to Dean Swift.

1724

A Poem address'd to the Quidnunc's, at St. James's Coffee-House London. Occasion'd by the Death of the Duke of Orleans. . . . Printed in the year, MDCCXXIV.

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "How vain are mortal Man's Endeavours."
Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Last Volume," 1727, as "The Quidnuncki's: a Tale."

The Report of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, in relation to Mr. Wood's Half-Pence and Farthings, &c. [Dated July 24, 1724.]

Folio, pp. 4; no date, place, or printer's name. Forst.
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 20-39.

Remarks upon the Report of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council, in Relation to Mr. Woods's Half-pence. By Samuel Owens, Lock-Smith. Printed in the Year, MDCCXXIV.

Broadside; no place or printer's name. Forst.
Begins: "Vulcan my Muse to me describe."

Dublin Aug. 20th, 1724. This Day the Grand Jury. . . . The Declaration of the Grand Jury, and The Rest of the Inhabitants of the Liberty of the Dean and Chapter. . . . Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-street.

Broadside. Forst.

A Letter from a Lady of Quality to Mr. Harding the Printer, Occasionally Writ upon the General Out-cry against Wood's Halfpence. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street, 1724.

8vo, pp. 8. Dated Aug. 22 1724, and signe "Hibernia." B.M.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The Humble Petition of the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens

of the City of Dublin, in Common-Council Assembled. . . . [Dated Sept. 8, 1724.] Dublin: Printed by Aaron Rhames, at the Lower-End of Fleet-Street, 1724.

Broadside. Forst.

An Extract out of a Book, Entituled, an exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at Westminster, October 21, 1680. Pag. 150. Resolutions of the House of Commons in England, Nov. the 13th 1680.

Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), p. 128.
Title taken from "Fraud Detected."

The Presentment of the Grand-Jury of the County of the City of Dublin. [Dated Nov. 28, 1724.]

Broadside, T.C.D.
Title taken from T.C.D. Catalogue.

A New Poem Ascrib'd To the Hon^ble the Gentlemen of the Late Grand-Jury. Dublin, Printed by G. Needham in Crane-Lane, [*sic*]

Broadside, no date. B.M., Forst.
Begins: "As Ship-wrack'd Passengers when got to Shore."

The Fifth and Last Letter to the People of Ireland In Reference to Wood and his Brass. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year M dcc xxiv.

8vo, pp. 14, signed "Hibernicus," no printer's name. B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D.

A Letter to William Woods, Esq; From his Only Friend in Ireland. [Signed "Hibernicus".] Printed by J. Carson in Coghill's Court in Dame's-Street 1724.

Printed on a half-sheet. Forst.

Woods's [*sic*] Confession to the Mobb of the City of Dublin. Dublin: Printed by C. C. 1724. [Signed Will. Wood.]

Broadside. Forst.

Wood's Plot Discover'd by A Member of His Society; with His Apology to his Country-Men. Dublin: Printed by G. N. opposite the Bear in Crane-Lane, M DCC XXIV.

8vo, pp. 14. B.M.

A full and true Account of the solemn Procession to the Gallows, at the Execution of William Wood, Esquire, and Hard-ware-man. Written in the Year 1724.

Reprinted in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. iv, 1735, and in "Miscellanies," vol. v, 1735.
This title is taken from Faulkner.

The Sixth Letter to the Whole People of Ireland. By an Ancient Patriot. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724.

8vo, pp. 15, signed "Well Wisher." B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D.

The Drapier Anatomized: A Song.

A New Song Sung at the Club at Mr. Taplin's The Sign of the Drapier's Head in Truck-Street.
Dublin: Printed in the Year, M DCCXXIV.

Broadside. B.M., Forst., U.L.C.
Begin: "The Drapier I Swear,"
and "With brisk merry Lays."
The second of these songs is reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 217-18.

An Express from Elisium, to The once-Rev[d] Dr. M—gee, Couple-Beggar, shewing The only Way for W. Wood, to Gain the Hearts. . . . With Advice how to Manage, (and some Observations on) M. B. Drapier. Written by the Late Famous Captain Fleming. Dublin, Printed in the Year 1724.

Broadside; no printer's name. B.M.

An Express from Parnassus, To the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift Dean of St. Patrick's.

Printed on a half-sheet; no date, place, or printer's name. Forst., U.L.C.
Begins: "From the Mount of Parnassus November the Fift."

A True Character of The Wooden Monster, Arch Enemy to Ireland. By no Friend to William Woods. Dublin: Printed by R. Dickson opposite the Bear in Crane-Lane, 1724.

Printed on a half-sheet. Forst.

Begins: "To draw a Tinker, Esquire and an Ape."

An Apology for Mr. Wood, &c. Address'd to all true Lovers of their Country. Dublin: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, at the General-Post-Office Printing-House in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724.

Printed on a half-sheet. Forst.

A Creed for An Irish Commoner. Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724.

Broadside; no printer's name. Forst.

A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland In their unanimous Refusal of Mr. Wood's Copper-Money. . . . Dublin: Printed for George Ewing, at the Angel and Bible in Dames-Street, M DCCXXIV.

8vo, pp. 45. B.M., T.C.D., Bodl., U.L.C.

Another edition.

8vo, pp. 39. U.L.C.

The True State of the Case, Between the Kingdom of Ireland of the one Part, and Mr. William Wood of the other Part. By a Protestant of Ireland. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court.

8vo, pp. 8. T.C.D.

Some Considerations on the Attempts Made to Pass Mr. Wood's Brass-Money in Ireland. By a Lover of his Country. Dublin: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, at the General-Post-Office Printing-House in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724.

Folio, pp. 4. Forst.

Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 157-168, and in "Miscellanies. The Sixth Volume" (1745).

Some Reasons Shewing the Necessity the People of Ireland are under, for continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's Coinage. By the Author of the Considerations. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXIV. [Dedication signed "D. B."]

8vo, pp. 28. B.M., Bodl., T.C.D.
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 169-213.

Advice to the Roman Catholicks of Ireland concerning Wood's Halfpence. Dublin. 1724.

8vo. T.C.D.
Title taken from T.C.D. Catalogue.

Ireland's Consternation in the loosing of 200,000 pound of their Gold and Silver for Brass Money.

Folio; no date, place, or printer's name. T.C.D.
Title taken from T.C.D. Catalogue.

The Present State of Ireland consider'd: in a Letter to the Rev. Dean Swift.

8vo; no place or printer's name. T.C.D.
Title taken from T.C.D. Catalogue.
N.B.—This is not the same as the pamphlet of 1730.

The Flying-Stationers Declaration. . . . Dublin Printed in the Year 1724.

Broadside; no printer's name. Forst.

The Declaration of the Corporation of the Butchers. Dublin: Printed by Gwyn Needham, in Crane Lane.

Broadside, no date. Forst.

The Brewers Declaration, We the several Brewers. . . . DNBLIN [*sic*]: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street, [no date, unless cut off.]

Broadside. Forst.

A Letter from Aminadab Firebrass Quaker Merchant, to M. B. Drapier. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Cour [*sic*].

Broadside; no date. Forst.
Begins: "My Dearest Friend M.B. I hope thoul't excuse."

The Funeral of Woods's Halfpence. A Sermon Preach'd against Coining of Base Money. By a Divine of the Church of England. Dublin: Printed by J. Carson, in Coghill's-Court, Dames-street, 1724.

8vo., pp. 22. Bodl.

Ireland's Case Humbly presented to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, by an Artificer in Metals and a Citizen of Dublin, . . .

Folio, pp. 3; no date, place, or printer's name. Forst.

A Letter to William Wood, from a Member of that Society of Men, who in Derision are Call'd, Quakers. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court. [Signed Abraham Woodhater.]

Broadside; no date. Forst.

The Drapier Demolished and Set out in his own Proper Colours; . . . By William Wood, Esq; [*at end*, Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fish-amble-street.

8vo, pp. 8; no date. B.M., U.L.C., T.C.D.
Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Ninth Volume" (1748).

A Letter from a Friend To the Right Honourable — — — —. [Dated Dec. the First 1724. and signed, "N. N."] Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724. [vi. 218

Printed on a half-sheet; no printer's name. Forst.

A Letter from the Right Hon. —— —— To the Reverend N. N.

Signed "O. O." No date, place, or printer's name.
Broadside. Forst.

Seasonable Advice To M, B. Drapier. Occasion'd by his Letter to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Visct. Molesworth.

Printed on a half-sheet. Signed M. M. No date, place, or printer's name. B.M., Forst.

1725

A Letter to M. B. Drapier. Author of a Letter to the L^d. Molesworth, &c. Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724-5. [Signed "Misoxulos."]

8vo., pp. 16. U.L.C.

A Second Letter from a Friend To the Right Honourable —— ——. [vi. 223

Folio, pp. 4. Dated Jan. 4, 1724-5, and signed "N. N." No place or printer's name. B.M., Forst.

A Third Letter From —— —— To the —— ——.

Folio, pp. 2. Signed "N. N." B.M.

Fourth Letter To the Right Honourable —— ——.

Folio, pp. 4. Signed "N. N." B.M.

A Letter ascrib'd to the Rt. Hon^ble the L^d C—f J—st—e W[hitshed]. Printed in the Year 1724-5.

Broadside. B.M. copy is dated in manuscript Jan^y. 12^th, 1724-5.

The Donore Ballad. Inscrib'd to the Praise of the worthy M. B. Drapier. Dublin. Printed by C. Carter. 1724-5. [Imprint partly cut off.]

Broadside. B.M.
Begins: "Ye Loving Hibernians come listen a while."

Tom Punsibi's Dream, . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724-5. [vi. 212

Printed on a half-sheet. No printer's name. B.M., Forst.

Woods Reviv'd, or, a Short Defence of his Proceedings in Bristol, London, &c in Reference to the Kingdom of Ireland. Printed in the Year 172-5 [*sic*].

8vo, pp. 14, signed "Will. Wood." No printer's name. B.M., T.C.D.

Blue-Skin's Ballad. To the Tune of Packington's Pound. Printed in the Year 1724-5.

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M., Forst.

Another edition: Newgate's Garland: being A New Ballad, shewing How Mr. Jonathan Wild's Throat was cut, . . . London: Printed for J. Baker in Pater-Noster-Row. Price Three Half-pence.

Printed at the back of "Postscript to the St. James's Post." Nov. 28, 1715 [*sic*]. B.M.
Begins: "Ye Fellows of Newgate, whose Fingers are nice."

A Poem to D—— S——. Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724-5.

Broadside; no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "As Joyful Sailors when the Tempest's o'er."

A Second Poem, to Dr. Jo—n S—t. Dublin: Printed in the Year. MDCCXXV.

Broadside; no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "When mighty Chiefs, for mighty Deeds renown'd."

A Second Song, Sung at the Club at Mr. Taplin's The Sign of the Drapier's-Head in Truck-Street. Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXV.

Broadside; no printer's name. Forst.
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 218-19.
Begins: "Since the Drapier's set up, and Wood is cry'd Down."

The Drapier's Ballad To the Tune of the London 'Prentice. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court, 1724-5.

Broadside. B.M., Forst.
Begins: "Of a Worthy Dublin Drapier."
Reprinted in "Fraud Detected" (1725), pp. 220-21, as Song III.

Song IV.

Begins: "Now we're free by nature."
Printed in "Fraud Detected" (1725), p. 223.

Song V.

Begins: "When Wood had like t' have taken root."
Printed in "Fraud Detected" (1725), p. 224.

Enquiries into the principal Causes of the general Poverty of the Common People of Ireland. Dublin. 1725.

8vo. T.C.D.
Title taken from T.C.D. Catalogue.

A Congratulatory Poem on Dean Swift's Return to Town. By a Member of the Club, held at Mr. Taplin's in Truck-street, October, 7th. 1725. Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1725.

Broadside; no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Welcome! Thou Guardian Genius of our Isle."

Poems on Wood's Halfpence:

A Simile on our want of Silver. [Ald. iii. 100

Begins: "As when of old, some Sorc'ress threw."

Wood, an Insect. [Ald. iii. 101

Begins: "By long Observation I have understood."

On Wood the Ironmonger. [Ald. iii. 106

Begins: "Salmoneus, as the Grecian Tale is."
Printed in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. ii (1735), pp. 361-7.

William Wood's Petition to the People of Ireland. [Ald. iii. 107

Begins: "My dear Irish Fokes."

An Epigram on Woods's Brass-Money. [Ald. iii. 99

Begins: "Cart'ret was welcom'd to the Shore."
Printed in Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. viii (1746), pp. 315-7.

An Elegy On the Universelly [*sic*] Lamented Death of the Right Honourable Robert Lord Vis. Molesworth, . . . By M. B.

Broadside. B.M. copy mutilated.
Begins: "Tho' Death has done his worst you cannot Die."

A Poem On the Erecting a Groom-Porter's-House adjoining to the Chapple, in the Castle of Dublin.

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "A Purgatory is a Jest."

An Essay on Gibing, With a Project for its Improvement. . . . Dublin: Printed for Thomas Thornton, at the Sign of the Fan in Dame's-street, 1725.

8vo, pp. 16. B.M.
The London edition of 1727 [8vo, pp. iv, 22—part of vol. ii of "Miscellanea"] has a dedication to Mr. Alexander Pope signed by "The Editor."

[A] Scourge For the Author of the Satyr, Gibing on Trinity College, and on the Reverend Dean Swift, Hibernia's Apollo; Presented To the Reverend Dean Smedley, with Remarks on his Petition to the Duke of G—ft—n. Written by S. O. L. S. Printed in the Year, 1725.

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Most Reverend Dean, good Mr. Smedley."

Trinity Colledge Vindicated. Or a short Defence, of The Reverend Dean Swift. By S. O—s, L.S. Dublin, Printed by G. N. opposite the Bear in Crane-Lane, 1725.

Broadside. B.M., U.L.C.
Begins: "Monsieur the Revd. Dean will write."

To His Excellency the Lord Carteret, Occasion'd by seeing a Poem Intituled, The Birth of Manly Virtue. Dublin: Printed by S. Harding on the Blind-Key, 1725.

Folio, pp. 4. B.M.
Begins: "The Picture strikes.—'Tis drawn with wondrous Art!"

A Poem Inscrib'd to the Author of The Birth of Manly Virtue. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year M DCC XXV.

Broadside; no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Hail! happy Bard, who durst explore."

Advice to a Son at the University, Design'd for Holy Orders. By a Clergyman. London, Printed for R. Wilkins, at the King's Head in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCXXV. Price 1*s*. [Attributed to Rev. T. Curteis.]

8vo, pp. [iv], 91. B.M.

A Letter of Advice To the Revd. D—r. D—la—y, Humbly propos'd to the Consideration of a certain Great Lord.

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M., U.L.C.
Begins: "What Doctor, if great Carteret condescends."

The Widows Address To the Rt: Hon. the Lady Carteret. By M. B. Dublin Printed by C. C. 1725.

Broadside. B.M.

To the Hon^ble^ Miss Carteret.

Begins: "Fair Innocence, the Muses loveliest Theme."

To the Right Hon^ble^ the Lady Carteret.

Begins: "Wearied with long Attendance on the Court."

A Satyr. Printed in the Year, M DCC XX V.

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Most Reverend Dean, pray cease to Write."

A Letter from D. S——t. to D. S——y.

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Dear Dean, if e're again you Write."

Satyr Satiris'd, an Answer To a Satyr on The Reverend D——n S——t. . . .

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name (unless cut off). B.M.
Begins: "What will the World at length come to?"

1726

The Grand Mystery, or Art Of Meditating over an House of Office, Restor'd and Unveil'd; After the Manner of The Ingenious Dr. S——ft. . . . The Second Edition corrected. London: Printed for J. Roberts near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1726. (Price 6*d.*)

8vo, pp. vii, 24. B.M.

Another Edition: The Grand Mystery, . . . Dublin: Re-Printed, in the Year MDCCXXVI. (Price Two Pence.)

8vo, pp. v, 18. Bodl.
Translations into French (1729) and German (1748) were published.

A History of Poetry, In a Letter to a Friend, By the Rev^d. D—— S——t. Dublin: Printed by E. Waters in the Year, 1726.

Printed on a half-sheet. T.C.D.

It cannot Rain but it Pours: or, London strow'd with Rarities. . . . London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms, in Warwick-Lane. M DCC XXVI. (Price Three-Pence.)

4to, pp. 10. B.M., Bodl.

Another edition, with portrait of Peter the Wild-Boy.

8vo, pp. 10. U.L.C.

Reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume" (1732), pp. 129-136; and in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," 1747, where it is attributed to Dr. Arbuthnot.

It cannot Rain but it Pours: Or, The First Part of London strow'd with Rarities. . . . N.B. The Second Part of this Book by Mistake of the Printer was published first. London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms, in Warwick-Lane, M DCC XXVI. (Price Three-Pence.)

4to, pp. 11. B.M.

The Manifesto of Lord Peter. London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. M DCC XXVI. (Price Three Pence.)

4to, pp. 11. Portrait of Peter the Wild Gentleman on p. 11. B.M.

The Most Wonderful Wonder That ever appear'd to the Wonder of the British Nation. Being, An Account of the Travels of Mynheer Veteranus, thro' the Woods of Germany: With an Account . . . Written by the Copper-Farthing Dean. The Second Edition. London, Printed for A. More, near St. Paul's. 1726. (Price 4*d.*)

4to, pp. 16. B.M.

A True and Faithful Inventory of the Goods belonging to D. Sw—t, Vicar of Lara Cor, upon lending his House to the Bp. of M——, till his own was built. [Ald. iii. 338

Broadside. T.C.D.

Reprinted at end of "Cadenus and Vanessa," 4th edition, 1726.

Lemuel Gulliver's Travels Into Several Remote Nations of the World. Compendiously methodized, . . . London: Printed in the Year MDCCXXVI. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* [No printer's name, but the book has Curll's advertisements.]

A second title runs: A Key, being Observations and Explanatory Notes, upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver. By Signor Corolini, . . .

8vo, Front., pp, iv, 29, 32, 32, 28. B.M., Forst.

The Dublin reprint follows the second title above, and concludes: London Printed, and Re-printed in Dublin, for G. Risk, G. Ewing and W. Smith in Dame-street, M DCC XXVII.

8vo, title, pp. 17, 22, only includes pts. 1 and 2. B.M.

1727

Travels into several Remote Nations of the World. By Capt. Lemuel Gulliver. Vol. III. . . . London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXVII.

8vo, 4 leaves, pp. 118, 4 leaves, pp. 159, no printer's name. B.M., Forst., Dyce.

A Dutch translation of this spurious volume—"Derde en laatste Deel"—was published in 1728.

Memoirs Of the Court of Lilliput. Written by Captain Gulliver. Containing an Account of the Intrigues, and some other particular Transactions of that Nation, omitted in the two Volumes of his Travels. Published by Lucas Bennet, with a Preface, shewing how these Papers fell into his hands. London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. M.DCC.XXVII. (Price 2*s*.)

8vo, pp. viii, 159. B.M.

The Second Edition, 1727.

8vo, pp. viii, 159. Forst.

Several Copies of Verses On Occasion of Mr. Gulliver's Travels. Never before Printed. London: Printed for Benj. Motte, at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet-street. M DCC XXVII.

8vo, pp. 30. B.M.

Another edition: Poems Occasion'd by Reading the Travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, Explanatory and Commendatory. Dublin: Printed by and for J. Hyde, Bookseller in Dame's-Street, 1727.

8vo, pp. 16. B.M.

Another edition.

Broadside; no date, place, or printer's name. B.M.

Two Lilliputian Odes: The First, On the Famous Engine With which Captain Gulliver Extinguish'd the Flames in the Royal Palace. . . . The Second, Inviting a Bookseller, to a Coffee-House, where the Author was. London: Printed by S. Pigmy, for Tom. Thumb near St. Paul's, 1727. Price 4*d*.

8vo, pp. 24. B.M., Forst.

Περὶ Βάθους: or, Martinus Scriblerus his Treatise of the Art of Sinking in Poetry.

Title from "Miscellanies. The Last Volume" (1727), 1-92 [separate pagination].

Translations were published into French (1733) and German (1734).

1728

Gulliveriana: or, a Fourth Volume of Miscellanies. Being a Sequel of the Three Volumes, published by Pope and Swift. . . . London: Printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-lane. M.DCC.XXVIII.

8vo, pp. xliv, 344. B.M., Dyce, Forst.

Letter to the Publisher of the Dublin Weekly Journal.

Printed in the issues for Sept. 14 and Sept. 21, 1728. Signed W.B. Reprinted in Scott's edition of Swift's Works, vol. vii, 1814.

Considerations on Two Papers Lately Published. The First, called, Seasonable Remarks, &c. And the other, An Essay on Trade in General, and on That of Ireland, in Particular. Dublin: Printed in the Year 1728.

8vo, pp. 16, no printer's name. B.M.

Reprinted in "A Collection of Tracts, Concerning the Present State of Ireland, . . . London: Printed for T. Woodward. . . . MDCCXXIX," where it occupies pp. 107-124.

A Letter in Answer to a Paper, intitled, An Appeal to the Reverend Dean Swift. By the Author of Considerations on Two Papers, &c. Dublin. Printed by and for Thomas Hume, at the Custom House Printing House in Essex Street, 1728.

8vo. T.C.D.

Reprinted in "A Collection of Tracts, Concerning the Present State of Ireland, . . . London: Printed for T. Woodward. . . . MDCCXXIX," where it occupies pp. 133-144.

A Letter to the Intelligencer. [Signed Patrick.]

Originally appeared in *The Intelligencer*, No. 16, as "The Adventures of the three Brothers."

A Second Letter to the Intelligencer.

Originally appeared in *The Intelligencer*, No. 17, as "The Marks of Ireland's Poverty."

These two letters are reprinted in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume" (1732), and in "Supplement to Dr. Swift's Works," 1739.

1729

Dean Jonathan's Parody on the 4th Chap. of Genesis. London: Printed for Timothy Atkins, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1729. [Price Sixpence.]

Folio, pp. 7. B.M., Dyce.

The Drapier's Advice to the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin. [Urging them to choose Sir William Fownes to serve in Parliament. Dublin, 1729.]

Broadside. T.C.D.

[A] P[o]em By D—— S——. On the Scheme Propos'd to the People of Ireland. Humbly Address'd to the Skilfull and Ingenious Mr. Maculla, A Lover of his Country, and of the Publick Good, &c. . . . Dublin: Printed by Thomas Walsh, at Dick's Coffee-House in Skinner-Row.

8vo, pp. 8; no date. U.L.C. (mutilated).
Begins: "Thou, furnish'd with a great sagacious mind."

Letters upon the Use of Irish Coal. To the Publisher of the Dublin Weekly Journal [dated August 4, and October 23, 1729].

Printed in the issues for August 9 and 16 and October 25, 1729. Signed S.D.H., M.B.

A Letter to the People of Ireland. By M. B. Draper [*sic*]. . . . Dublin: Printed and sold by Thomas Hume, in Essex-street, 1729. [Dated Aug. 28, 1729.]

8vo, pp. 16. Bodl., R.I.A.*

1730

The Present State of Ireland Consider'd. . . . Dublin: Printed: And Reprinted at London, for Weaver Bickerton, in Devereux-Court near the Middle-Temple. M.DCC.XXX.

8vo, pp. 32. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.
Is included in "A View of the Present State of Affairs In the Kingdom of Ireland." 1730.

Some Seasonable Advice to Doctor D—n—y. Printed in the Year, MDCCXXX.

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "My Friend D——y be not vain."

A Panegyric on the Reverend D—n S—t. In Answer to the Libel on Dr. D—y, and a certain Great L—d. Printed in the Year 1729-30.

Sm. 8vo, pp. 8; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "Could all we little Folks that wait."

The Pheasant and the Lark. A Fable. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXX. [By Dr. Delany.] [Ald. ii. 178

8vo, pp. 8; no printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "In antient Times, as Bards indite."
Reprinted with the second edition of *The Intelligencer*, 1730.

A Vindication of the Libel: or, A New Ballad; Written by a Shoe-Boy, on an Attorney, who was formerly a Shoe-Boy. . . . Printed in the Year, 1729-30. [Ald. iii. 193

Broadside; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "With singing of Ballads, and crying of News."

A Friendly Apology for a Certain Justice of Peace; by way of Defence of H—y H—n, Esq; . . . By James Blackwell, Operator for the Feet. Printed in the Year MDCCXXX. [Ald. iii. 195

8vo, pp. 7; no place or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "I sing the Man, of Courage try'd."

When the Cat 's away, The Mice may play. A Fable, Humbly inscrib'd to Dr. Sw—t. London: Printed for A. Baldwin, in Warwick-lane. Price Two Pence. [Attributed to Gay.]

Folio, pp. 4; no date. B.M.
Begins: "A Lady once (so Stories say)."

The Colcannen Match: or, the Belly Duel. A Poem. In three Canto's. . . . Printed in the Year MDCCXXX.

Sm. 8vo, pp. 8; no place or printer's name. Forst.
Begins: "On Faughan's banks a little Village stands."

1731

A Brief Account of Mr. John Ginglicutt's Treatise Concerning the Altercation or Scolding of the Ancients. By the Author. London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXXI.

8vo, pp. [iv], 26. B.M., Bodl.

Poems on several Occasions. . . . By Matthew Pilkington, M.A. Revised by the Reverend Dr. Swift. London: Printed for T. Woodward, . . . MDCCXXXI.

8vo, pp. xiv, [iv], 184. B.M., U.L.C.

An Infallible Scheme To pay the Publick Debt of this Nation In Six Months. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the present P——t. . . . Printed in the Year 1731. [No place or printer's name.]

8vo, pp. 16. Forst., R.I.A.*

Another edition: An Infallible Scheme To pay the Publick Debt of this Nation In Six Months. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the present P——t. By D—n S—t. . . . Dublin, Printed. London, Re-printed for H. Whittridge, under the Royal Exchange, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCXXXII. Price Six-pence. [Attributed to the Rev. M. Pilkington.]

8vo, pp. 23. B.M., Bodl.
Reprinted in "Schemes from Ireland," 1732, and in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume," of the same date.

A Scheme Humbly offer'd, for making R[eligio]n and the C[lerg]y useful. With the Author's Observations on the Cause and Cure of the Piles: . . . Printed in the Year MDCCXXXI.

8vo, pp. 24; no place or printer's name. Forst.
Reprinted at London in "Schemes from Ireland."

1732

Schemes from Ireland, for the Benefit of the Body Natural, Ecclesiastical, and Politick. The First humbly offer'd, for making Religion and the Clergy Useful. . . . The Second, An Infallible Scheme to pay the Publick Debt of this Nation in six Months. . . . Dublin Printed: London, Re-printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. M DCC XXXII. Price Six-pence.

8vo, pp. 31. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

A New Simile for the Ladies, with Useful Annotations. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year 1732. [Attributed to Sheridan.] [Ald. iii. 321

Sm. 8vo, pp. 8; no printer's name. Forst.
Begins: "I Often try'd in vain to find."

Chloe Surpriz'd: or, The Second Part of the Lady's Dressing-Room. To which are added, Thoughts upon Reading the Lady's Dressing-Room, and the Gentleman's Study. The former wrote by D—n S—t, the latter by Miss W——. London, Printed, and Dublin, Reprinted, in the Year 1732.

8vo, pp. 8; no printer's name. B.M., Forst.
Begin: "One Morning as Chloe the Prude lay a-Bed."
"I Prithee, good Folks, who have heard all the Satire."

An Enquiry whether the Christian Religion is of any Benefit, or only An Useless Commodity to a Trading Nation. London: M.DCC.XXXII.

8vo.

Another edition: London: Printed for I. Pottinger, in Pater-noster-Row. 1760.

8vo, title, pp. 62. B.M.

An Elegy on Dicky and Dolly, with the Virgin: A Poem. To which is Added The Narrative of D. S. when he was in the North of Ireland. Dublin: Printed by James Hoey, at the Pamphlet-Shop in Skinner-Row, opposite to the Tholsel, MDCCXXXII.

8vo, pp. 8. U.L.C.

The following pieces are printed in "Miscellanies. The Third Volume" (1732):

The Wonder Of all the Wonders, that ever the World wonder'd at. For all Persons of Quality and Others.

Pp. 67-71.

In "Miscellanies. The Second Volume" (1747) this is said to be "By Dr. Swift."

Annus Mirabilis: or, The Wonderful Effects of the approaching Conjunction of the Planets Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn. By Mart. Scriblerus, Philomath. A Well-Wisher to the Mathematicks.

Pp. 85-97.

In "Miscellanies. The Second Volume" (1747) this is attributed to Arbuthnot and Pope.

1733

A Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters, from the Aspersions cast upon them, In a late Pamphlet, intitled, The Presbyterians Plea of Merit, . . . London: Reprinted from the Dublin Edition, for G. F. and Sold by A. Dodd, near Temple-Bar; and at the Pamphlet-Shops. [Price One-Shilling.]

8vo, pp. 62; no date. B.M., G'hall.

Human Ordure, Botanically Considered. The First Essay, of the Kind, Ever Published in the World. By Dr. S—t. Printed at Dublin: And Reprinted at London, for F. Coggan at the Middle Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet, 1733. [Price Six Pence.] [Attributed to Dr. Chamberlayne.]

8vo. U.L.C.

Another edition: London: Printed for H. Carpenter, in Fleet-Street. M. DCC. XLVIII.

8vo, title, pp. 21. B.M.

1734

The Dean's Provocation For Writing the Lady's Dressing-Room. A Poem. London, Printed for T. Cooper in Ivy-Lane, MDCCXXXIV. (Price Sixpence.)

Folio, pp. 8. B.M.
Begins: "The Doctor, in a clean starch'd Band."

1735

Ub-Bub-A-Boo: or, the Irish-Howl in Heroic Verse. By Dean Swift. London: Printed for J. James without Temple-Bar, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, MDCCXXXV. [Price One Shilling.]

8vo, title, pp. 39. B.M., Bodl.
Begins: "Love once was Nature, artless and untaught."

1736

Bounce to Fop. An Heroick Epistle from a Dog at Twickenham to a Dog at Court. By Dr. S—t. Dublin, Printed, London, Reprinted for T. Cooper, in Paternoster-Row. M.DCC.XXXVI.

Folio, pp. 11. B.M., Dyce, Bodl.

Second Edition.

Advoc.
Begins: "To thee, sweet Fop, these Lines I send."

Some Proposals for the Revival of Christianity. [Attributed to Rev. P. Skelton.] Printed in the Year M,DCC,XXX,VI. [Dublin?]

8vo, pp. 47; no place or printer's name. Forst.

Another edition: Dublin Printed, London Re-printed; for T. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row. M.DCC.XXXVI.

8vo, pp. 38. B.M., Bodl., U.L.C.

Another edition.

8vo, pp. 32. U.L.C.

A New Proposal For the better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille. . . . Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner in Essex-street. 1736. [By Bp. Hort.]

Printed on a half-sheet. B.M.

1738

Some Thoughts on the Tillage of Ireland: Humbly Dedicated to the Parliament. . . . To which is Prefixed, A Letter to the Printer, from the Reverend Doctor Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, recommending the following Treatise. Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner. M,DCC,XXXVIII. [By Alexander M^c^Aulay.]

8vo, pp. [iv], 54. U.L.C.

Another edition: London: Printed for T. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row. 1737. [Price Six Pence.]

8vo, pp. 32. B.M.

A Collection Of Welsh Travels, and Memoirs of Wales. Containing I. The Briton Describ'd, or a Journey thro' Wales: Being a pleasant Relation of D——n S——t's Journey to that ancient Kingdom, . . . London: Printed for and Sold by J. Torbuck, in Clare Court, near Drury Lane; . . . 1738.

8vo, pp. xv, 64, 30, 15. B.M.

Another edition, 1749.

12mo, pp. viii, 111. B.M.
(See also under 1753.)

The Humours of the Age: or, Dean Swift's New Evening-Post. . . . Numb. I. (To be continued Weekly.) London: Printed for J. Wright near the Fleet-Market; where Letters to the Author (Post paid) will be receiv'd [Dated inside From October 15, to October 21, 1738.]

4to, pp. 4. B.M.

1743

A Modest Defence of a late Poem By an unknown Author, call'd, The Lady's Dressing-Room. Written in the Year 1732. Printed in the Year 1743.

Title taken from Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works, vol. viii, 1746.

1745

A Modest Address To the Wicked Authors of the Present Age. . . . By H. F. Esq; Dublin Printed; London Reprinted; and sold also by the Booksellers of Oxford and Cambridge. MDCCLXV [*sic*]. (Price One Shilling and Six-pence.)

8vo, pp. xii and 9 to 107. B.M., Bodl.
Contains "Some Arguments . . . Abolishing of Christianity," "A Project for the Advancement of Religion," and an Appendix.

Another edition: Dean Swift's Legacy to the Wicked Authors of the Present Age. In Three Parts. . . . Publish'd, according to the Dean's Appointment, By H. F. Esq; Dublin printed; London reprinted, and sold by the Booksellers there, and in Oxford and Cambridge. [Price 1*s.* 6*d.*]

This professes to contain, retouched and new modell'd by the author, "Arguments . . . abolishing of Christianity," "Project . . . Advancement of Religion," and "New and Tritical Reflections on Free-Thinking."

8vo, pp. 107. The B.M. copy only has title (and advertisement on *verso*) before p. 9.

The Drapier's Letter to the good People of Ireland. [1745.]

Reprinted in Supplement to the Works, 1752.

The Drapier's Second Letter to the Good People of Ireland. Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXLV.

8vo, pp. 8, no printer's name. B.M.

An Authentic Copy Of the Last Will and Testament Of the Reverend Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. . . . Dublin, Printed; London, Reprinted; and Sold by J. Oldcastle near St. Paul's. (Price Six-pence.)

8vo, pp. 26. B.M., Forst., U.L.C., Bodl.
N.B.—This is a skit.

1746

The Charter of His Majesty King George II. For Erecting and Endowing St. Patrick's Hospital. Founded by the Last Will of the Reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift . . . Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, in Essex-street. M,DCC.XLVI.

8vo, pp. 15. U.L.C.

Another edition: Dublin: Printed by J. Jones, N°. 20, Myler's-Alley, Bride-street. 1798.

U.L.C.

1748

Good Queen Anne Vindicated, and The Ingratitude, Insolence, &c. of her Whig Ministry and the Allies Detected and Exposed, in the Beginning and Conducting of the War. . . . (By that worthy Patriot Dean Swift) . . . London, Printed for and sold by W. Owen, at Temple-Bar, . . . 1748.

8vo, pp. [iv], 72. B.M., U.L.C.

1749

Dean Swift's Medley.

Title from *London Magazine*.

1750

A New Project For the Destruction of Printing and Book-selling; for the Benefit of the Learned World. Dublin: Printed by T. Knowles in Essex-street. 1750.

Printed on a half-sheet. B.M.
Reprinted in Supplement to the Works (Cogan, 1750), iii, 67.

The Mishap. A Poem. Written by the late Rev. D. J.S. D.D. D.S.P.D.

Broadside; no place, date, or printer's name. B.M.
Begins: "As youthful Strephon, t'other day."

1752

Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, In a Series of Letters from

John Earl of Orrery To his Son, the Honourable Hamilton Boyle. . . . London, Printed for A. Millar, opposite to Catharine-Street in the Strand. MDCCLII.

8vo, front. (by B. Wilson), title, pp. 339 and 9 pages of Index. B.M., Forst., U.L.C., Bodl.

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The Fifth Edition, 1752.

12mo, title, pp. 240 and 10 pages of Index. Forst.

Dublin Editions: Printed by George Faulkner in Essex Street. 1752.

8vo, pp. 339 and 10 pages of Index. T.C.D.
12mo, pp. 204 and 7 pages of Index. T.C.D.

A Letter on the Fishery, dated Dublin, March 23, 1734.

Reprinted in Supplement to the Works, 1752.

1753

Some Account of the Irish. By the late J.S.D.D.D. S.P.D. . . . London: Printed for M. Cooper at the Globe, in Pater-noster-Row. M.DCC.LIII.

8vo, 3 leaves, pp. 42. B.M., Forst.

Dean Swift's Ghost . . . London: Printed for J. Wilkinson, near Cripplegate. MDCCLIII. (Price One Shilling.)

12mo, pp. xii, 60. B.M.

N.B.—This is a reprint of a book entitled "Wallography; or The Britton Describ'd:" published in 1682. (See also under 1738.)

1754

To a Friend who had been much abused in many inveterate Libels.

Begins: "The greatest Monarch may be stabb'd by night."

Printed in "Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift." [By Dr. Delany.] London, W. Reeve, MDCCLIV. (pp. 309-10).

1757

Swift's Vision; or, the Women's Hue and Cry against Alexander Pope, for the Loss of their Characters. A Poem. Lately found in the Cabinet of a very curious Person. . . . Dublin: Printed in the Year, MDCCLVII.

8vo, pp. 15. U.L.C.

1765

A Discourse To prove the Antiquity of the English Tongue.

Printed in Swift's Works, vol. viii, quarto edition, 1765.

1779

The Famous Speech-maker of England, or Baron (alias Barren) Lovel's Charge, at the Assizes at Exon, April 5, 1710. [Ald. iii, 16

Printed in Nichols's "Supplement," 1779, from *The Entertainer*, No. 1, 1745.

Begins: "From London to Exon."

Title taken from Nichols.

1808

An Essay on the Earlier Part of the Life of Swift. By the Rev. John Barrett, D.D. . . . London: . . . 1808.

8vo, pp. viii, 232. B.M., T.C.D., Bodl.

The following piece was first published in this volume:

A Tripos, Or Speech, delivered at a Commencement in the University of Dublin, (held there, July 11, 1688,) by Mr. John Jones, then A.B. afterwards D.D.

GENERAL INDEX TO SWIFT'S PROSE WORKS (12 vols.)

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